



NEW VOICES

IN JAPANESE STUDIES

Vol.12

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New Voices in Japanese Studies Volume 12

An interdisciplinary, peer-reviewed journal showcasing the work of emerging scholars with ties to Australia and New Zealand and research interests in Japan.

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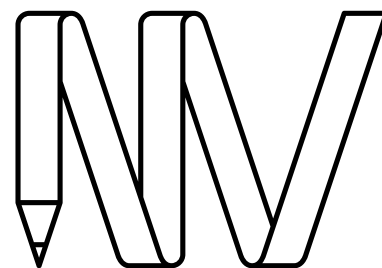
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New Voices in Japanese Studies,
Vol. 12, 2020, i

By Yurika Sugie

Manager, Japanese Studies Department
The Japan Foundation, Sydney

Welcome to Volume 12 of *New Voices in Japanese Studies*. This year's volume features five papers and five reviews from emerging researchers at various stages in their careers. The Volume 12 author cohort is made up of recent PhD graduates, PhD candidates and Honours graduates, all with ties to either Australia or New Zealand, and all of whom demonstrate a passion for and commitment to research related to Japan. The Japan Foundation, Sydney is delighted to provide this platform for their work, and hopes that these authors can use the insights gained from this early publishing experience to guide and strengthen their future academic publications.

As is usual for *New Voices in Japanese Studies* as an interdisciplinary journal, the papers and reviews in this volume cover a broad range of subject matter, from immigration and citizenship through to religion, canonical literature and popular culture. Across this breadth, I am delighted to note that the Japan-Australia relationship is a recurring theme across a number of the contributions. A paper by Tomoko Horikawa and a review by Shannon Whiley both take up the subject of immigration from Japan to Australia in the early nineteenth century. This work is complemented by a review by Alexander Brown, our Guest Editor for this volume, which discusses a recent book titled *Japan in Australia*, as well as a paper by Aoife Wilkinson which explores perceptions of citizenship and nationality among contemporary Japanese Australian youths. The strong relationship between Japan and Australia underpins not only this volume but also the journal as a whole, and it is gratifying to see this reflected so concretely in this year's submissions.

On behalf of The Japan Foundation, Sydney, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to everyone who has been involved in the production of this volume, and without whom it would not have been possible. I wish to thank the authors and their supervisors for choosing *New Voices in Japanese Studies*, and the Editorial Board whose invaluable advice has strengthened the work in these pages. I wish to thank the Guest Editor, Dr Alexander Brown, for the time, effort and enthusiasm that he devoted to this volume, which has benefited not only the papers and reviews but also the authors themselves. Thank you to Kevin Vo, who has produced the layouts and updated the website, and finally also to the Series Editor, Elicia O'Reilly, for her hard work in continuing to improve this journal and in bringing this volume to fruition.

New Voices in Japanese Studies first began as a way of supporting emerging researchers and identifying shifts and trends in Japanese Studies locally over time. We look forward to watching the authors in this volume as they continue to develop their research portfolios, and wish them the very best in their endeavours as they do so.

(August 2020)

ii **Foreword**

v **Introduction**
Alexander Brown

PAPERS

1 **Australia's Minor Concessions to Japanese Citizens under the
White Australia Policy**
Tomoko Horikawa

21 **Forfeiting Citizenship, Forfeiting Identity? Multiethnic and Multiracial
Japanese Youth in Australia and the Japanese Nationality Law**
Aoife Wilkinson

44 **The Aesthetics of Linked-Verse Poetry in Yasunari Kawabata's 'The Lake'**
Haydn Trowell

65 **The Past is With Us and Yet to Come: A Hauntological Analysis of
Tsutomu Mizushima's Anime Series, 'Another'**
Luke Beattie

80 **Child's Play? Exploring the Significance of Kawaii for Decora and Fairy-Kei
Fashion Practitioners in Harajuku through a Case-Focused Analysis**
Megan Rose

REVIEWS

103 ***Japanese Culture through Videogames***
(Rachael Hutchinson)
Gawain Lucian Lax

106 ***The Anime Ecology: A Genealogy of Television, Animation, and Game Media***
(Thomas Lamarre)
Jindan Ni

109 ***Okinawans Reaching Australia***
(John Lamb)
Shannon Whiley

113 ***Faking Liberties: Religious Freedom in American-Occupied Japan***
(Jolyon Baraka Thomas)
Hamish Clark

117 ***Japan in Australia: Culture, Context and Connections***
(David Chapman and Carol Hayes, eds.)
Alexander Brown

By Alexander Brown

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Guest Editor, *New Voices in Japanese Studies*, Volume 12

In August 2019 I received an invitation from Elicia O'Reilly, Series Editor of *New Voices in Japanese Studies*, to assume the role of Guest Editor for Volume 12. During my PhD candidature I saw many of my colleagues publish in its pages and so I leapt at the chance. I knew that NVJS had an important role in nurturing young scholars and as an Early Career Researcher I saw the position as an opportunity to develop my own skills as an editor, another important function that this journal has played over the years. Academic writing is a uniquely challenging form of writing and there are few opportunities for inexperienced writers to receive extensive feedback and guidance on their work in the competitive atmosphere of journal publishing. Some of the pieces *New Voices* receives are full of promise but somewhat under-developed in their first iteration. The journal's flexibility means we are able to work with authors to continually develop and improve their work before and after subjecting it to peer review. The authors in this volume are all at different stages in their academic careers, from honours students to recent PhD graduates. It is a particular pleasure to see two high-quality essays by honours students in this volume. Thinking back to my own honours year and the state of my own writing at the time, it is a real tribute to these students who sought publication in a peer-reviewed publication and responded to feedback effectively and in a timely manner.

Editing this issue is the most recent in a series of productive engagements I have had with The Japan Foundation, Sydney and with the journal's Series Editor Elicia O'Reilly. I first visited The Japan Foundation, Sydney in its former location at Chifley Plaza as a gallery volunteer at the start of my PhD candidature in 2010. At that time a multi-disciplinary installation responding to turn-of-the-century Japanese graves in Australia titled *In Repose* was on display. This exhibition opened my eyes to the long history of the Japanese presence in Australia, something I had previously known little about. I was pleased to review a book in this volume which included a discussion of this fascinating installation. Later in 2015, when I was on the verge of completing my doctoral dissertation, I met Elicia O'Reilly at the Japanese Studies Association

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New Voices in Japanese Studies,
Vol. 12, 2020, pp. v-viii

of Australia biennial conference in Melbourne. Conversations between Japan Foundation staff and keynote speaker Eiji Oguma from Keio University at that conference led to the wonderful *After 3.11: Have you met the new Japan?* event series which explored activist and cultural responses to the complex earthquake, tsunami and nuclear disaster of March 2011. I was pleased to chair a Q&A session with Professor Oguma following a screening of his film *Tell the Prime Minister* as part of the series. These personal experiences are an example of the ways The Japan Foundation, Sydney has been supporting Japanese Studies in Australia. The breadth of work in Japanese Studies at Australian universities which is represented in this volume demonstrates the strength of the field.

The first two essays in this volume concern migration and the border between Australia and Japan. **Tomoko Horikawa's** historical study re-examines the impact of the White Australia policy on Japanese migration to Australia in the early twentieth century. She argues that Japan's growing military and diplomatic clout, as well as its alliance with Great Britain, enabled it to challenge the application of the Immigration Restriction Act to its nationals. This was expressed both in specific legislative amendments to the Act, carving out limited exceptions which allowed Japanese nationals to enter Australia, and in the way the Act was applied in practice. Australian officials displayed a willingness to lessen the impact of the Act's discriminatory provisions for certain classes of Japanese immigrants whose cases were supported by Japanese consular officials. While there was no fundamental change to the White Australia policy's objective of restricting permanent Asian immigration to Australia, the concessions granted to Japanese immigrants in response to consular advocacy showed the influence a rising Japan could bring to bear at the time.

Aoife Wilkinson, an honours student at the time of submission, contributes a contemporary sociological perspective to citizenship and migration between Australia and Japan. Her paper explores the attitudes of young people in Australia of mixed Japanese heritage towards their citizenship and identity. Japan does not currently permit its citizens to maintain dual nationality past the age of 22, meaning these young people must decide whether to maintain or renounce their Japanese citizenship, although in practice, many maintain dual citizenship by simply neglecting to inform the authorities of their choice. Wilkinson conducted interviews with fourteen young people, asking them about what their Japanese citizenship means to them. She concludes that young people perceive their citizenship less as a matter of cultural identity and more as a means of accessing opportunities for travel and career advancement in a flexible and globalising world.

Our next two authors both engage in close readings of Japanese texts. **Haydn Trowell** brings a perspective from translation studies and comparative literature to Yasunari Kawabata's literary technique, through a close reading of his novel *The Lake*. Trowell sets out to test the observation made by several translators that the famous writer's technique resembles that of classical Japanese linked-verse poetry, known as *renga*. Concentrating on the role of

‘linking’ and ‘flow’ in the progression of *renga* verse, Trowell breaks down a chapter of Kawabata’s novel, showing clear correspondences between the way these forms of linking are used in *renga* and the way they are used in the novel.

In a second outstanding contribution submitted by an honours student at the time, **Luke Beattie** conducts a more philosophical reading of his text, Tsutomu Mizushima’s animated television series *Another*, drawing on Jacques Derrida’s ideas of hauntology. For Beattie, Mizushima’s story of a haunted classroom provides an opportunity to think about the way Japan’s history of imperialism on the Asian continent haunts its present politics. He argues that the ghosts of the past cannot be ignored or forgotten but will find ways to re-emerge, making an honest reckoning with the past essential to any meaningful future. This essay demonstrates the seriousness of the issues raised in contemporary Japanese Studies classrooms and the creative way students engage with the study of popular culture.

Like Beattie, **Megan Rose**’s article focuses on Japanese popular culture. She explores the alternative *kawaii* fashion culture of Harajuku, a phenomenon which has played an enormous role in shaping contemporary perceptions of Japan in Australia. Rose presents two in-depth interviews with fashion practitioners who are active in the *fairy-kei* and *decora* subcultures. Rose reviews some existing approaches to *kawaii* fashion culture, showing that they fail to give adequate attention to the voices of practitioners. She adopts a different methodology, giving her interview subjects the opportunity to speak back to the way they are presented in academic discourse. Rose concludes that dominant ideas of *kawaii* fashion, which position it as form of childish escapism from adult responsibility, neglect the way practitioners make independent fashion choices in order to craft their identities as adults.

This is the second volume of *New Voices in Japanese Studies* to include a book review section and we are delighted to be able to offer five reviews. Two of the reviews continue with the contemporary Japanese popular culture theme from the peer-reviewed section of this volume. Gawain Lucian Lax reviews Rachael Hutchinson’s *Japanese Culture Through Videogames* and Jindan Ni reads Thomas Lamarre’s *The Anime Ecology: A Genealogy of Television, Animation, and Game Media*. Given the papers on historical and contemporary migration in the peer-reviewed section of this volume, we are fortunate to be able to include Shannon Whiley’s in-depth reading of John Lamb’s recent book on Okinawan migration to Australia, *Okinawans Reaching Australia*. Hamish Clark gives an account of Jolyon Baraka Thomas’s critical exploration of the idea of religious liberty in post-war Japan, *Faking Liberties: Religious Freedom in American-Occupied Japan*. Finally, I review a recent collection of essays edited by David Chapman and Carol Hayes, *Japan in Australia: Culture, Context and Connection* which addresses many of the themes from this volume of NVJS, from popular culture and literature to migration.

The contributors to this volume have been working in unparalleled circumstances, facing one of the worst bushfire seasons on record in Australia

followed by a global pandemic. In spite of these considerable challenges, authors and peer reviewers, editors and staff have kept plugging away to enable us to bring this volume together within a tight publishing schedule of less than one calendar year. I want to thank Elicia O'Reilly once again for inviting me to guest edit this volume. Although this publication is a postgraduate student journal, the quality of the articles and the rigour of the review process are equal to anything I have experienced publishing in standard academic journals. Elicia's rigorous approach to editing and her generosity in providing feedback is largely responsible for ensuring these high standards are maintained throughout. I would also very much like to thank the authors for staying the course and returning their revisions in a timely manner. It is never easy to receive extensive critical feedback on one's work, as any experienced writer can confirm, but the authors whose work is published in this volume did so with grace and addressed criticisms and concerns appropriately. As is typical of each year, we were not able to include all of the submissions in this volume but hope that they will appear in future volumes.

(August 2020)

Australia's Minor Concessions to Japanese Citizens under the White Australia Policy

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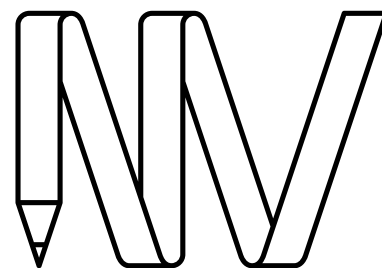
ABSTRACT

This paper explores concessions made by Australian authorities concerning Japanese immigration during the era of the White Australia Policy in the early twentieth century. Australia's Immigration Restriction Act was introduced in December 1901. As the major piece of legislation in the White Australia Policy, the act made it virtually impossible for non-Europeans to migrate to Australia. However, Japanese people enjoyed a special position among non-Europeans under the White Australia Policy thanks to Japan's growing international status as a civilised power at the time, as well as its sustained diplomatic pressure on Australia. While the Commonwealth was determined to exclude Japanese permanent settlers, it sought ways to render the policy of exclusion less offensive to the Japanese. In the early 1900s, two minor modifications to the Immigration Restriction Act were implemented in order to relax the restrictions imposed on Japanese citizens. Moreover, in the application of Commonwealth immigration laws, Japanese people received far more lenient treatment than other non-Europeans and were afforded respect and extra courtesies by Australian officials. Nevertheless, these concessions Australia made to Japanese citizens were minor, and the Commonwealth government maintained its basic policy of excluding Japanese permanent settlers from Australia. This paper shows that, despite continued diplomatic efforts, Japan was fundamentally unable to change pre-war Australia's basic policy regarding the exclusion of Japanese permanent settlers.

KEYWORDS

Australia; Australia-Japan relations; history; Immigration Restriction Act; Immigration Restriction Amendment Act; international relations; Japanese immigration; law; Passport Agreement of 1904; White Australia Policy

ERRATA: This article originally featured incorrect romanisations of the names of Consul-General Hisakichi Eitaki and Consul-General Kazuo Iwasaki. These errors have now been corrected. It should also be noted that Consul-General Kisaburō Ueno's name was romanised as 'Uyeno' in English-language records of the time. (September 17, 2020)



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Australia's Immigration Restriction Act was introduced in December 1901. It was the major piece of legislation in the now-infamous White Australia Policy, a complex set of legislative and administrative measures aimed at severely restricting non-European immigration to Australia. The act empowered the Commonwealth to exclude all non-European races, including Japanese, from settling in Australia. The introduction of the Immigration Restriction Act provoked strong objections from Japan. The Japanese government noted that the legislation was aimed at excluding races that the Commonwealth government deemed undesirable and was concerned that the Immigration Restriction Act effectively characterised its citizens as such.¹ Australia was, however, unwavering in its policy of excluding Japanese immigrants.

The strict entry restrictions the White Australia Policy imposed on non-European immigrants are well known. Less well known is the special position that the Japanese enjoyed among non-Europeans under the White Australia Policy. Although the Commonwealth was determined to prevent the Japanese from settling permanently in Australia, Japan's international status as a civilised power in the early twentieth century and its sustained diplomatic pressure on Australia led the Commonwealth to make some concessions and relax the restrictions imposed on Japanese citizens. This paper explores the concessions made by the Commonwealth to the Japanese government and its citizens during the era of the White Australia Policy.

Research into Japanese immigration to Australia under the White Australia Policy in the field of diplomatic history remains limited. Although both the White Australia Policy and Japanese migration are widely and thoroughly researched subjects of historical study, the two literatures are largely distinct. While the existing literature on the White Australia Policy generally examines the domestic origins and development of the policy (e.g., Markus 1979, 1994; Price 1974; Willard 1923), the literature on Japanese migration focuses to a large extent on Japanese immigration to North America (e.g., Asada 1973; Minohara 2002). As a result, the number of studies on Japanese immigration to Australia is small. Moreover, those studies which have examined Japanese immigration to Australia have approached the subject mostly from social and cultural perspectives, depicting the lives and experiences of Japanese immigrants in white Australia (e.g., Sissons 1977a, 1977b, 1979; Nagata 1996; Tamura 2001). Within this context, there are few studies of Japanese immigration under the White Australia Policy in the field of diplomatic history. This situation might be due to the disinclination of political and diplomatic historians to pay sustained attention to immigration issues. To borrow the words of Toshihiro Minohara (2002), immigration is “unfamiliar (馴染みにくい)” territory for most diplomatic historians, given their traditional focus on national interests and power (5). Or, as Sean Brawley (1995) has put it, “immigration and foreign relations have rarely met in any comprehensive historical analysis” (2).

¹ This view was repeatedly expressed by the Japanese government in its representations to the Australian government in the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries. See, for example, *Nihon gaikō bunsho* (hereafter NGB) 1902, 791–92, 822–23.

That said, there are a few existing studies which have examined the White Australia Policy's impact on Japanese-Australian diplomatic relations, including the work of D. C. S. Sissons, A. T. Yarwood and Isami Takeda. While many of Sissons' works adopt cultural and social perspectives, some of his studies, including "The Immigration Question in Australian Diplomatic Relations with Japan, 1875-1919" (1971) and "Immigration in Australia-Japanese Relations, 1871-1971" (1972), discuss Japan's reaction to the White Australia Policy and its impact on bilateral Japanese-Australian diplomacy. The development of the White Australia Policy and the mechanism of Asian exclusion is the primary focus of Yarwood's book, *Asian Migration to Australia: The Background to Exclusion, 1896-1923* (1964). However, the chapters on Japanese immigration provide a detailed account of Japanese-Australian diplomatic negotiations surrounding Japan's objection to Australia's racially discriminatory immigration legislation. Similarly, Isami Takeda's 1981 study on the establishment of the White Australia Policy and Australia's dealings with Japan in that context examines the Japanese government's strong objection to the White Australia Policy.

This paper builds upon these studies of Japanese immigration under the White Australia Policy in the field of diplomatic history. However, in contrast to existing studies in this area which mainly discuss the Japanese-Australian diplomatic confrontation over the White Australia Policy, this paper will explore the Commonwealth's conciliatory attitude to the Japanese government and its citizens. It examines the Japanese-Australian negotiations which resulted in Australia's concessions regarding Japanese immigration, and investigates the nature of these concessions. In so doing, it aims to shed new light on the issue of Japanese exclusion under the White Australia Policy and contribute to the existing literature on Japanese immigration and the White Australia Policy.

JAPAN'S OBJECTIONS TO THE WHITE AUSTRALIA POLICY

The White Australia Policy comprised multiple pieces of legislation aimed at excluding non-Europeans from permanent settlement in Australia. In addition to the Immigration Restriction Act of 1901, other legislative measures aimed at formalising this exclusion included the Pacific Island Labourers Act of 1901, the Commonwealth Franchise Act of 1902 and the Naturalisation Act of 1903.² The White Australia Policy was born out of the desire of Australians to create a racially and culturally homogenous white British nation.³ This desire was inspired by Australians' strong identification with British race and culture and was further strengthened by Australia's unique geo-cultural circumstances.⁴ As the inhabitants of a white British colonial outpost in the Pacific surrounded by people of different cultures and races, many Australians felt that they were in a vulnerable position and feared that Asia's vast population was ready to swamp their big uncultivated land (Meaney 1999, 16; Tavan 2005, 20-21). In

² The Pacific Island Labourers Act of 1901 stipulated that no Pacific Island labourers would be allowed to enter Australia after 31 March 1904 and that a majority of Islanders living in Australia at the time would be deported from 31 December 1906. The Commonwealth Franchise Act of 1902 disqualified non-Europeans from voting, while the Naturalisation Act of 1903 prevented non-Europeans from applying for naturalisation.

³ For a discussion of the motivations behind the White Australia Policy, see Tavan 2005, 11-25.

⁴ For a discussion of the importance of white Britishness in Australian identity during the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries, see Meaney 2001 and 2003.

other words, the White Australia Policy was a product of Australian people's determination to preserve their nation's white British character in the face of perceived threat from their Asian neighbours.

The Immigration Restriction Act was the first major piece of Commonwealth legislation in the White Australia Policy and was its central practical instrument. The Immigration Restriction Act was intended "to place certain restrictions on immigration and to provide for the removal from the Commonwealth of prohibited immigrants" (Federal Register of Legislation, Immigration Restriction Act 1901). However, the Immigration Restriction Act neither mentioned White Australia nor nominated non-Europeans as "prohibited immigrants". This was mainly due to diplomatic pressure applied by Britain and Japan urging Australia not to introduce legislation of an overtly discriminatory character (Jupp 2002, 8; Tavan 2005, 10). Instead, the restrictions were enforced through the application of a dictation test in a European language. According to Section 3(a) of the Immigration Restriction Act, "any person who when asked to do so by an officer fails to write out at dictation and sign in the presence of the officer a passage of fifty words in length in a European language directed by the officer" would fall into the prohibited category (Federal Register of Legislation, Immigration Restriction Act 1901). It was widely understood, though nowhere stated in the act, that the test would apply only to non-European immigrants and it should be in a language not known to the immigrants, thus making it virtually impossible for non-Europeans to migrate to Australia (Jupp 2002, 8-9).

Although the introduction of the Immigration Restriction Act symbolised the formal establishment of the White Australia Policy, White Australia was, in fact, already well accepted as a policy ideal by the time of federation, and a series of colonial laws which were already in place before 1901 attest to this. The origins of the White Australia Policy can be traced to the late 1850s and early 1860s, when the arrival of thousands of Chinese on the Victorian and New South Wales goldfields ignited fear and resentment among white miners toward industrious Chinese diggers and led these colonies to restrict Chinese immigration. In 1855, Victoria passed an act limiting the number of Chinese each vessel landing in Australia could carry, and imposed a landing tax of 10 pounds on every Chinese entering the colony. South Australia passed a similar act in 1857, and New South Wales followed in 1861 (Willard 1923, 21-35; Markus 1979, 25-33). In the mid-1870s, Queensland enacted legislation to deal with a large influx of Chinese miners following the discovery of gold in the north-eastern part of the colony. In 1876, the Goldfields Amendment Act was passed in order to restrict Chinese access to the goldfields (Willard 1923, 50-51). Throughout the 1880s, antipathy towards Chinese immigration in Australia kept growing, and at the Intercolonial Conference of 1888, the Australian colonies agreed to take a uniform stand to severely restrict Chinese immigration. This led immediately to the adoption of legislation against the Chinese in all of the colonies except for Tasmania (Willard 1923, 89-94; Price 1974, 186-98).

It is important to note that during this initial phase of the White Australia Policy, the Chinese were its sole focus and Japanese immigration was not

the main concern of the colonial authorities. This was mainly because the Japanese population in Australia at the time was much smaller than the Chinese population.⁵ During the 1880s and the 1890s, a sizeable number of Japanese labourers started working in the pearling and sugar industries in North Queensland and along the northwest coast of Australia, and the Japanese presence in these areas had caused public agitation in local communities (Sissons 1971, 25; Meaney 1999, 53). However, the Japanese presence in Australian cities was limited as the vast majority of Japanese were in remote tropical locations, engaged in occupations which were considered unsuitable for white labourers. As a result, until the mid-1890s, there was no widespread anti-Japanese sentiment or movement among the broader white Australian population (Takeda 2000, 64).

The Anglo-Japanese Treaty of Commerce and Navigation, which was signed in London on 16 July 1894, brought the question of Japanese immigration to the forefront of Australian anxieties. The treaty, while offering reciprocal tariff preferences, granted reciprocal rights of travel and residence to the signatory nations and their territories, of which Australia was one. The Australian colonies were suddenly faced with a possible influx of Japanese immigrants to Australia. Their anxieties about Japan were further enhanced by the news of Japan's victory over China in the Sino-Japanese War in April 1895. Japan's defeat of China and its subsequent rise to the status of pre-eminent Asian power made the Australian colonies realise that Japan would be a force to be reckoned with politically and led them to view Japan as the primary threat from Asia (Yarwood 1964, 7–8).

However, the Anglo-Japanese commercial treaty of 1894 was not immediately binding on the Australian colonies. Article 19 stipulated that the treaty was not to apply to Britain's self-governing colonies unless they expressed their intention to adhere within two years from the date of its ratification. At the Intercolonial Conference of 1896, the Australian colonies unanimously decided not to adhere to the treaty, rejecting the prospect of increased bilateral trade. Moreover, the delegates at the conference endorsed a proposal to extend their colonies' existing anti-Chinese legislation to all non-European races (Willard, 1923, 109–110; Takeda, 1981, 23–25). Subsequently, New South Wales, South Australia and Tasmania introduced the Coloured Races Restriction and Regulation Bills, which restricted the entry of non-European races into these colonies (Willard 1923, 110).

The introduction of these bills by the Australian colonies angered the Japanese authorities. In his letters to British Foreign Secretary Lord Salisbury, the Japanese minister in London, Takaaki Katō, stated that the Japanese government could not accept any legislation which regarded its people as being on “the same level of morality and civilization as Chinese and other less advanced populations of Asia” because “Japan is far superior to other Asian nations” (NGB 1897, 605–09, 619–22). This claim that Japan was a civilised nation superior to China and other Asian nations was made repeatedly by the Japanese government during the late nineteenth and early

⁵ For example, in 1861, 38,337 Chinese-born people were in Australia, comprising 3.3% of the total population, while the number of Japanese in Australia was almost nil because of Japan's isolation policy. In 1901, the number of Japanese nationals in Australia was still minimal at 3,554, compared with 30,542 Chinese nationals. See Yarwood 1964, 163; Jupp 1998, 192.

twentieth centuries. This was because achieving equality with the West by attaining a ‘civilised’ international status was a dominant theme in Japan’s foreign policy after the so-called ‘unequal treaties’ were imposed upon it by Western powers in the mid-1850s.⁶ To this end, Japan, under the slogan of ‘abandon Asia, join the West’ (脱亜入欧), tried to join the ranks of the more influential European powers by distancing itself from its Asian neighbours (Beasley 1990, 54–120; Jansen 2000, 371–455).⁷ Japan objected to these colonial bills because they put its citizens in the same category as ‘uncivilised’ Chinese and other Asian peoples, and in doing so signified Japan’s inferiority to European nations (Yarwood 1964, 12; Takeda 1981, 31–36). In the end, Britain obstructed these bills by reserving royal assent, and urged the colonies to adopt a less offensive and more indirect method of exclusion in the form of a dictation test (Bennett 1992, 29).⁸ In 1897, Western Australia copied Natal in British South Africa by introducing a dictation test for immigrants. Western Australia was followed by New South Wales in 1898 and Tasmania in 1899 (Jupp 1998, 75). The Japanese government expressed its satisfaction with these colonial laws which adopted an indirect method of exclusion and did not explicitly signify Japan’s inferiority to European nations, commenting that they would not bring “dishonour (汚辱)” to Japanese people (NGB 1898, 95).

On 1 January 1901, the Australian colonies federated to become the Commonwealth of Australia. The Immigration Restriction Act was the first major piece of legislation introduced by the newly formed Commonwealth Parliament in June. The Japanese government, again as in the late colonial period, insisted that the legislation should not classify its people together with Chinese or other Asian people. As mentioned earlier, Section 3(a) of the Immigration Restriction Act required prospective immigrants to Australia to take a dictation test in a European language. Japan strongly opposed this provision because it failed to treat Japanese people “in the same manner as” European people (NGB 1901, 827). In a letter to Australian Prime Minister Edmund Barton, the Japanese consul in Sydney, Hisakichi Eitaki, insisted that “the Japanese belong to an Empire whose standard of civilization is so much higher than that of Kanakas, Negroes, Pacific Islanders, Indians, or other Eastern peoples” (NAA: A8, 1901/203/1; NGB 1901, 791–92).⁹ He repeatedly urged the Commonwealth to enter into an agreement with Japan on immigration in order to exempt Japanese citizens from the terms of the Immigration Restriction Act (NGB 1901, 791–92, 822–23). The Japanese government also appealed for British intervention and requested the British government to induce the Commonwealth to modify the Immigration Restriction Act in such a manner “as to place Japanese on an equal footing

6 In 1858, Townsend Harris, the American consul in Japan, persuaded Japan to sign the Treaty of Amity and Commerce, which would open five ports between 1859 and 1863 to American residence and trade. This treaty contained two critical unequal measures: tariff restrictions and extraterritoriality. Soon the principal European powers followed suit with similar treaties. Through these treaties and subsequent agreements, the full ‘unequal treaty system’ developed between the European powers and China was applied to Japan, and Japan was stripped of its sovereign prerogatives. For a discussion of the unequal treaties imposed on Japan by Western powers, see Beasley 1990, 26–34. For a discussion of Japan’s attempt to achieve equality with the West by attaining a civilised international status, see Suzuki 2005 and 2009.

7 This slogan became popular after the publication of Yukichi Fukuzawa’s widely noted article, ‘Leaving Asia’ (脱亜論), in the Japanese newspaper *Jiji Shimpō* on 16 March 1885.

8 This was partly due to Japan’s strong objection to these colonial bills. At the same time, Britain did not want any legislation which overtly discriminated against the Empire’s people of colour, particularly Indians. See Bennet 1992, 29.

9 In early 1896, Japan opened its first Australian consulate in Townsville, and in April, Tsunejirō Nakagawa was appointed as the first Japanese consul in Australia. In the following year, the second Japanese consulate in

with European immigrants” or else to reserve royal assent to the act (NGB 1901, 853). In spite of Japan’s persistent efforts, the Immigration Restriction Act passed both Houses of the Commonwealth Parliament without exemptions for Japanese citizens and received royal assent on 23 December 1901.

Even after the Immigration Restriction Act became law, Japan continued its efforts to prevent the act from being applied to its citizens, pressing the Commonwealth to afford its citizens special treatment and exempt them from the legislation. However, Prime Minister Barton almost completely ignored Japan’s repeated approaches and showed little inclination to listen to, let alone comply with, Japan’s requests and remonstrations (see NGB 1902, 701–59). As a result, Japan was unable to gain any concessions regarding restriction on the entry of its citizens into Australia.¹⁰ However, this changed soon after Alfred Deakin became prime minister in September 1903.

THE PASSPORT AGREEMENT OF 1904

Alfred Deakin became prime minister of the Commonwealth of Australia on 24 September 1903, after having taken over leadership of the Protectionist Party from Edmund Barton, who had retired to become one of the founding justices of the High Court. The arrival of Deakin spelt a change in Commonwealth policy regarding the entry of Japanese citizens. In contrast with Barton, who had maintained an uncompromising attitude toward Japan’s continued approaches and protests, Deakin was prepared to resolve Japanese immigration issues.

In September 1901, during parliamentary debates on the Immigration Restriction Act, Deakin made a statement which displayed the high regard he held for Japan. Although Deakin claimed that “the Japanese require to be absolutely excluded [from entry to Australia]”, he conceded that “a nation which is capable of the achievements which Japan is able to exhibit artistically, politically, and of the industrial expansion now going on in that country, is justified in resenting...any unnecessary reflection upon its character by another nation” (CPD, House of Representatives 1901, No 37, 4812). Deakin thus insisted that “when it becomes necessary for us to exclude people like the Japanese it is reasonable that we should exclude them in the most considerate manner possible, and without conveying any idea that we have confused them with the many uneducated races of Asia and untutored savages who visit our shores” (CPD, House of Representatives 1901, No 37, 4812). These statements

Australia was established in Sydney, and Consul Nakagawa was relocated from Townsville to Sydney to become its first consul. Eitaki succeeded Nakagawa as the Japanese consul in Sydney in January 1899. In 1901, the consulate in Sydney was upgraded to Consulate-General.

¹⁰ The only exception was Japanese pearl divers. In 1902, the pearl-shelling industry bases in Thursday Island, Darwin and Broome became the sole exceptions to the policy of excluding indentured coloured labour. The objection that the practice violated the principle of the White Australia Policy was raised and royal commissions were ordered by the Queensland and the Commonwealth governments. However, the investigators at Thursday Island and Broome reported that owners of pearl luggers would be ruined if they had to pay the high wages necessary to attract white men to the work and recommended that exemptions be granted from the dictation test to allow the introduction of coloured labourers on condition of compulsory repatriation on expiry of contract (see Yarwood 1964, 96–97). Japanese pearl shell labourers were an important part of the Japanese community in Australia during the era of the White Australia Policy, constituting almost 70 per cent of the total number of Japanese in Australia around 1901. However, the cases of Japanese pearling industry labourers are beyond the scope of this paper. For a detailed discussion of Japanese involvement in the Australian pearling industry in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, see Sissons 1979.

foreshadowed the policy Alfred Deakin as prime minister would formulate concerning the issue of Japanese immigration. Throughout his term as prime minister, Deakin implemented a series of new policies towards Japan, both at legislative and administrative levels, in order to relax the restrictions imposed on Japanese citizens by the Immigration Restriction Act. The first of these was the Passport Agreement of 1904.

Not long after Deakin took office, the Russo-Japanese War broke out in February 1904. The outbreak of the war prompted Deakin to reassess Australia's standing in relation to Japan. In particular, two letters to Deakin from Dr John Mildred Creed, a member of the Legislative Council of New South Wales, seemed to have imparted some urgency to Deakin's appreciation of the matter (Yarwood 1964, 86–87). Creed's first letter, written shortly before the outbreak of the war on 30 December 1903, began by declaring that the continued exclusion of Japanese citizens under the Immigration Restriction Act was a subject which "must be dealt with in the very near future" in order to ensure Australia's "ultimate safety as a nation". Creed argued that if Japan was victorious in the imminent war with Russia, "her standing among the nations will be so vastly increased that she is not likely to tamely submit to what she considers a national humiliation and what would now be a graceful concession will then possibly have to be yielded to superior force".¹¹ In his second letter, written soon after the outbreak of the war and dated 25 March 1904, Creed put forward a suggestion that Japanese of the non-labouring class who had passports issued by their government should be admitted to the Commonwealth.¹² This letter appears to have been successful in persuading the Deakin government to make some urgent conciliatory measures towards Japan on immigration.

On 16 April 1904, Atlee Hunt, the secretary of the Department of External Affairs, sent a confidential letter to the new acting Japanese consul-general, Kazuo Iwasaki, to ascertain whether his government was still interested in an arrangement such as the former Japanese consul-general Eitaki had proposed to Deakin in October 1902.¹³ In the letter, Hunt suggested that Japanese merchants, students and tourists with passports sufficiently identifying them as such and specifying the purpose and duration of their visits would be allowed to enter Australia on the condition that their document should be examined at the first port of call. He promised that if the Japanese government was amenable to the suggestion, Prime Minister Deakin would frame a formal communication to Iwasaki on the subject (NGB 1904, Vol. 2, 225–27). Iwasaki replied immediately, stating "I shall wait, with much pleasurable anticipation, the promised formal communication from your respected Chief upon this matter" (NGB 1904, Vol. 2, 228). Before this could be done, however, Deakin resigned from his office on 27 April 1904 after the Labor Party withdrew its support over the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill.¹⁴ Following this, Hunt explained to Iwasaki that under these political circumstances some delay

¹¹ This letter was published in *The Argus* (Melbourne) on 17 March 1904, p. 5.

¹² This letter was, published in *The Daily Telegraph* (Sydney) on 23 April 1904, p. 13.

¹³ In October 1902, Eitaki approached Deakin, then acting prime minister, and suggested that if the Immigration Restriction Act would not be wholly disallowed, it should at least be amended so that Japanese citizens with passports showing them to be merchants, students or tourists would be exempted from the operation of the act (see NGB 1902, 757–58).

¹⁴ The chief objective of the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill was to prevent and settle industrial disputes extending beyond the limits of any one state (see Australian Government, Federal Register of Legislation,

would be unavoidable, but promised that the matter would not be overlooked or unduly delayed (NGB 1904, Vol. 2, 228).

Deakin was succeeded by Chris Watson, the leader of the Labor Party, and after a lapse of several months, the question of immigration from Japan was revived towards the end of Watson's short-lived government. On 10 August 1904, William Morris Hughes, the minister for External Affairs, informed Iwasaki that the Commonwealth had decided to allow Japanese merchants, students and tourists to enter Australia temporarily without being subjected to any restriction, provided that their passports specified the purpose and duration of their visits. Hughes explained that on arrival in the Commonwealth, Japanese citizens in these categories would not have to take the dictation test prescribed by the Immigration Restriction Act and that if they wished to stay longer than 12 months, they could lodge an application for a certificate of exemption for the desired term. At the same time, Hughes stressed that the Commonwealth had not abandoned any of its rights under the Immigration Restriction Act and that it preserved control over Japanese passport holders (NGB 1904, Vol. 2, 242–43). As it happened, however, before the agreement was reached with Japan, the Watson government also fell victim to the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill and resigned on 18 August 1904. George Reid, the leader of the Free Trade Party, was sworn in as prime minister, and it then became Reid's responsibility to conclude the agreement with Japan.

The day after Reid took office, on 19 August 1904, he received a letter from Iwasaki stating that Iwasaki had been authorised by the Japanese government to accept the terms and conditions of the proposed agreement. Iwasaki concluded his letter by expressing his hope that “this exemption may be the means of promoting intercourse and improving trade relations between Japan and the Commonwealth of Australia” (NGB 1904, Vol. 2, 243–44). In response, Reid notified Iwasaki that the exemption would take effect from 1 October 1904 (NGB 1904, Vol. 2, 244). Accordingly, the Passport Agreement was concluded between Japan and Australia in October 1904. The agreement allowed Japanese merchants, students and tourists to enter Australia without restriction, as long as their passports specified the purpose and duration of their visits.

The Passport Agreement of 1904 was the first substantial concession the Commonwealth made regarding the entry of Japanese citizens. However, unlike the so-called ‘Gentlemen’s Agreements’ that Japan concluded with the United States and Canada in 1907–08, the Passport Agreement of 1904 granted the Japanese no right of entry for permanent residence.¹⁵ Furthermore, the Commonwealth had made clear that it preserved all of its rights under the Immigration Restriction Act and that it retained its power over Japanese residents in Australia. Following a year of residence in Australia, a Japanese passport holder could only extend his stay by securing

Commonwealth Conciliation and Arbitration Act 1904, <https://www.legislation.gov.au/Details/C1904A00013>). When Deakin became prime minister on 24 September 1904, his Protectionist Party did not have a majority in either house and formed government only by means of a coalition with the Labor Party. The Labor Party, in turn, insisted on widening the scope of the legislation, which Deakin found unacceptable. This resulted in the resignation of his cabinet. Ongoing issues surrounding the legislation also resulted in the resignation of the Chris Watson (Labor) and George Reid (Free Trade) cabinets.

15 The Australian government sought unilaterally to control Japanese immigration by means of Commonwealth legislation. This contrasted with the American and Canadian approaches to Japanese immigration, which

a Certificate of Exemption from the dictation test (CEDT), which in turn could only be renewed annually at the discretion of the Department of External Affairs. In other words, while the Commonwealth tried to pacify the Japanese opposition to the Immigration Restriction Act by affording them an exemption which was not accorded to other non-Europeans, it was determined to maintain the basic principle of the White Australia Policy.¹⁶

IMMIGRATION RESTRICTION AMENDMENT ACT OF 1905

Although Australia made some conciliatory moves towards Japan by implementing the Passport Agreement, the Immigration Restriction Act still classified the Japanese in the same category as other non-European people under the terms of the dictation test, which all non-Europeans were required to take in order to gain entry into Australia. Some in Australian political circles started to question the discriminatory treatment that was formalised in the Immigration Restriction Act and its implied inferiority of Japanese people. The most prominent of them was Bruce Smith, a Free Trade Party member from New South Wales. Smith was a vigorous opponent of the Immigration Restriction Act even prior to its enactment and one of the very few members of the House of Representatives who openly voiced opposition to the restrictions placed on entry of the Japanese into Australia.¹⁷ After the Immigration Restriction Act was introduced, Smith continued to campaign against restricting non-white immigration and pressed for an arrangement with Japan in order to improve commercial and political relations between the two countries (Yarwood 1964, 32).

Towards the end of 1904, Smith submitted a notice of motion to the House of Representatives. In his motion, Smith declared that “the time has arrived for differentiating the Japanese people from other Asiatic races with whom they have been impliedly grouped under the Immigration Restriction Act of 1901” (CPD, House of Representatives 1905, No. 39, 2941). He then proposed to amend the Immigration Restriction Act to either make the admission of Japanese citizens to Australia the subject of mutual arrangement or to include the Japanese language as one of the options for the Immigration Restriction Act’s dictation test (CPD, House of Representatives 1905, No. 39, 2942). Australian newspapers reacted favourably to Smith’s proposal. *The Telegraph* in Brisbane, for instance, commented that Smith’s motion was “the crystallisation of the feeling of Australia towards Japan at the present day”. The newspaper observed that before the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War, “most Australians looked upon the Japanese as a swarm of coloured aliens of somewhat barbaric instincts”, but since the war, the Japanese “have lifted themselves far above the level of all other Asiatic races”. It then argued in favour of the proposed amendments, stating that “we do not wish to impose any stigma; we wish to enter into relations of mutual respect with a people

involved bilateral U.S.-Japanese and Canadian-Japanese agreements negotiated in 1907 and 1908, respectively. The so-called ‘gentlemen’s agreement’ was Japan’s favoured solution for problems concerning restrictions to Japanese immigration. Under this formula, the Japanese government agreed to voluntarily regulate the emigration of its citizens while being afforded most favoured nation treatment regarding right of entry. In this way, Japan sought to maintain the appearance of being accorded equal treatment with European nations. See Sissons 1972, 195; Bennet 1992, 30.

16 Indians were also granted an exemption from the dictation test under the Passport Agreement which was concluded between Australia and India in 1904.

17 See Mr. Bruce Smith, CPD, House of Representatives 1901, No. 39, 5153–67.

whom the motherland has been fit to accept as an honoured friend and ally” (2 December 1904, 2).

As the above article indicates, Japan’s success in its war against Russia made a big impression in Australia. Even before the war was over, newspapers across the country started speculating about how Japan might react to Australia’s treatment of Japanese immigrants in the event of its potential victory over Russia. For example, on 29 March 1905, Hobart newspaper *The Mercury* wrote:

when the war is over, and the rulers of Japan are able to turn their attention to other things, we shall not be surprised if reprisals with Australia are undertaken. Japan will certainly have the right to exclude Australians and their produce, and we cannot expect the Imperial authorities to back up any protest which may be made.

(4)

Melbourne newspaper *The Argus*, for its part, commented in its editorial on 22 April that “as a great power, admitted into the fraternity of civilised nations—and the result of the war must be to place her in that position—she will need to be approached with a courtesy and a consideration hitherto conspicuous by their absence” (1905, 12).

Amid these agitations about Japan’s potential reaction to Australia’s immigration policy, Deakin commenced his second term as prime minister on 5 July 1905 and immediately returned to the task of removing any possible source of friction with Japan from the Immigration Restriction Act.¹⁸ A little more than a month after resuming office, around the same time as the Anglo-Japanese Alliance was renewed on 12 August, Deakin sent a confidential memo to Japanese Consul-General Iwasaki in Sydney asking for the Japanese government’s suggestions regarding an impending review of the Immigration Restriction Act. At the same time, he insisted that the Commonwealth was not contemplating any change to the basic policy of the Immigration Restriction Act and remained opposed to the admission of permanent settlers from Japan.¹⁹

On 18 September 1905, shortly after Japan’s victory in the Russo-Japanese War on 5 September, Deakin held an interview with Iwasaki, accompanied by Atlee Hunt, the secretary of the Department of External Affairs. At the interview, Deakin raised the possibility of inserting a clause in the Immigration Restriction Act which would have the effect of exempting Japanese citizens from the act. Deakin suggested that the new clause should provide that the Immigration Restriction Act would not apply to the subjects of any nation with which the Commonwealth had made a “treaty” or a “special agreement” on the subject of immigration (NGB 1905, Vol. 2, 256–57). By a “treaty” or a “special agreement”, Deakin did not mean the Anglo-Japanese Treaty of

¹⁸ The Anglo-Japanese Alliance, which was first signed on 30 January 1902, was renewed and extended twice, in August 1905 and again in July 1911. The alliance committed the two powers to remain neutral in any war fought by the other against a single power in order to preserve the *status quo*, and to join the other in any war fought against more than one power.

¹⁹ According to Yarwood (1964, 89), this letter has not survived. However, the letter’s existence and content can be deduced from a letter sent by Hunt to Iwasaki on 23 October 1905, and a subsequent letter sent by Iwasaki to Tarō Katsura, prime minister and acting foreign minister of Japan, on 10 November 1905 (NGB 1905, Vol. 2, 256–57, 261–65).

Commerce and Navigation of 1894, which conferred reciprocal rights of travel and residence to the signatory nations and their territories. Instead, he referred to the kind of agreement which had been suggested by the former Japanese Consul Hisakichi Eitaki in his letter to Prime Minister Edmund Barton of 3 May 1901—namely, that Japanese immigration should be regulated by mutual arrangement rather than by race-based immigration restriction legislation (NGB 1905, Vol. 2, 258–60).

However, it seems that there was a misunderstanding in connection with the word “treaty”. Contrary to Deakin’s intention, Iwasaki came to hope that Australia was prepared to accept the terms and conditions of the 1894 Anglo-Japanese commercial treaty, just as Queensland had already done (NGB 1905, Vol. 2, 260–61, 264–65).²⁰ Deakin, on the other hand, had assumed that the issue might be settled to Japan’s complete satisfaction by negotiating a separate reciprocal treaty or agreement on immigration alone. Deakin had believed that a reciprocal arrangement of this nature would remove any suggestion of racial inferiority and could not possibly be offensive to the Japanese government (NGB 1905, Vol. 2, 258–61). However, Deakin had misjudged the affair, as shown when Iwasaki accused Deakin of misleading him (NGB 1905, Vol. 2, 260–61). In response, Hunt refuted Iwasaki’s accusation and expressed the Commonwealth’s desire to meet Japan’s wishes, insofar as they were consistent with the basic policy of the Commonwealth (NGB 1905, Vol. 2, 261–64). After a protracted, sometimes fiery, correspondence between Iwasaki and Hunt regarding this matter, in which neither party was willing to change his position, Iwasaki declared that the negotiation had “failed” (NGB 1905, Vol. 2, 265). In other words, Deakin’s offer, which conceded all that Eitaki had asked for in 1901, was not accepted by Japan.

Nevertheless, Deakin went ahead and submitted a draft bill to the House of Representatives on 10 November 1905, which amended the dictation test of the Immigration Restriction Act from “any European language” to “any prescribed language”, thereby affording Japanese citizens an appearance of receiving the same treatment as their European counterparts. The draft bill also contained a new addition, Section 4 (a), which provided for the exemption from the dictation test of the citizens of any country with which the Commonwealth had made an arrangement regulating their admission (CPD 1905, No. 45, 4942–46). The Immigration Restriction Amendment Act passed the House of Representatives on 6 December and the Senate on 12 December, and received Royal Assent on 21 December 1905. However, no arrangement for reciprocal entry regulations between Japan and Australia was ever submitted for the approval of the Commonwealth Parliament, as required by the new Section 4 (a). This was primarily due to Japan’s consistent refusal of such an arrangement, given that Australia insisted on preserving its unrestricted right to legislate against Japanese immigration and also remained opposed to the admission of permanent settlers from Japan (Yarwood 1964, 89; Frei 1991, 84).

The Immigration Restriction Amendment Act of 1905 was prompted by Japan’s rising international status as a result of its victory over Russia in the

20 At the Intercolonial Conference of 1896, Queensland, along with the other colonies, supported a resolution not to adhere to the Anglo-Japanese Commercial Treaty of 1894. However, on 16 March 1897, Queensland alone among the Australian colonies joined the treaty by means of a special protocol.

Russo-Japanese War, with the perceived implications of Japan's military success spurring Prime Minister Deakin to attempt to make the White Australia Policy less offensive to the Japanese. By amending the dictation test from "European language" to "any prescribed language", Deakin tried to soften the implication of Japan's inferiority to European nations and grant Japanese immigrants nominal equality with their European counterparts in terms of bureaucratic treatment. Moreover, Deakin was prepared to exempt Japanese citizens of all classes from the dictation test by concluding a bilateral agreement with Japan on immigration. However, in spite of these concessions, he was adamant that the Commonwealth would not join the Anglo-Japanese Treaty of Commerce and Navigation of 1894, which offered Japanese citizens full liberty to enter, travel or reside in any part of the British dominions. In other words, although Deakin was willing to accord the Japanese an appearance of equality with their European counterparts, he was not ready to abandon the policy of restricting Japanese immigration. In this sense, the Immigration Restriction Amendment Act of 1905 was only a minor concession by Australia as it made no difference to the Commonwealth's basic policy of excluding Japanese permanent settlers from Australia.

ADMINISTRATIVE CONCESSIONS

In addition to implementing the Passport Agreement of 1904 and the Immigration Restriction Amendment Act of 1905, the Commonwealth also tried to make the Immigration Restriction Act less offensive to the Japanese through its administration of immigration laws. Broadly speaking, Japanese living in Australia around this time were subject to two iterations of Commonwealth policy: the state and federal laws themselves, and their selective enforcement by customs and immigration officials, police and bureaucrats in government departments (Oliver 2007, 3–5). Policy administration, which is guided by national interests, is not monolithic. In the case of Japanese immigration, this was particularly noticeable. Japanese people, who were considered to be of "high class" thanks to Japan's international status as a civilised power, received far more lenient treatment than other non-Europeans and were treated with respect and extra courtesies by Australian officials (Oliver 2004, 23; see also Oliver 2007, 4–6).

One incident in particular highlights this point. In February 1904, several months prior to the conclusion of the Passport Agreement with Japan, a Japanese labour inspector named Mr Tabei was travelling in Queensland's sugar plantation district when he was ordered by a tramway guard to move to the special wagon reserved for coloured passengers. R. G. Johnson, the chairman of the Hinchinbrook Shire Council where the incident took place, immediately sent a telegraph to Mr Tabei expressing his regret for what had happened.²¹ However, the Japanese consul in Townsville, Rinzaburō Tayui, complained forcefully to the Hinchinbrook Shire Council, calling the regulations to have a separate car for coloured people "distinctly racial discrimination" (NGB 1904, Vol. 2, 233–34). Tayui also wrote a letter of

²¹ This incident and the following apology from the chairman of the Hinchinbrook Shire Council are described in detail in the letters from the Japanese consul in Townsville, Rinzaburō Tayui, to the Japanese Foreign Minister, Jutarō Komura, of 22 June and 30 July 1904 (see NGB 1904, Vol. 2, 231–41).

complaint to the chief secretary of Queensland, Sir Arthur Morgan, stating that “my countrymen should be treated more properly in the tramway and that such [a] mistake should not be repeated in future”. Tayui requested Morgan to instruct the Hinchinbrook Shire Council to rescind such regulations or at least to exempt Japanese nationals from them (NGB 1904, Vol. 2, 235–36). The shire council immediately decided to withdraw the guidelines stipulating that no coloured people were allowed to ride in the white car (NGB 1904, Vol. 2, 240–41).

However, while issues of this nature were treated with delicacy by local-level authorities, the Commonwealth’s restrictions on permanent immigration from Japan remained unchanged. While the Passport Agreement of 1904 did constitute a concession, it was notably structured to ensure that the discretion to admit or reject Japanese immigrants at will remained in the hands of the Commonwealth authorities. In 1910, the Japanese consul-general in Sydney, Kisaburō Ueno, criticised the uncertainty of this system in a letter to the minister for External Affairs, Lee Batchelor. In the letter, Ueno pointed out that the Department of External Affairs seemed to regard five years as the maximum duration of residence for Japanese passport holders. He argued that this practice was “undoubtedly a serious interruption and a great handicap” to the business of Japanese companies based in Australia because it subjected them to “the inconvenience of periodically changing expert and experienced men for novices” (NGB 1910, Vol. 2, 145). Ueno also drew Batchelor’s attention to a difference which seemed to exist between the Australian and Japanese interpretations of the term ‘merchant’. He stated that in Australia, the term referred only to the principals of wholesale establishments, while in Japan it also meant retailers, clerks, assistants and anyone employed in any department of mercantile business. He insisted that Australian exports to Japan, which were valued at £1,267,963 in 1908, required “permanent oversight by resident and responsible managers” with “the help of competent Japanese clerks and assistants”. He therefore requested the Department to “remove the limit which appears to have been prescribed to the extensions of exemptions” and “to ensure the definition of the term ‘Merchant’ more closely approximat[es] that of the Japanese” (NGB 1910, Vol. 2, 144–47).

In his response, the secretary of the Department of External Affairs, Atlee Hunt, declined to promise that Batchelor would carry out Ueno’s requests. He stated that it would not be possible for Batchelor “to sanction an interpretation of a term of the agreement which would tend to lessen the power of the Department to control immigration”. “As regards the length of the period of residence”, continued Hunt, “Mr. Batchelor appreciates the force of reasons sent out in Mr. Ueno’s letter but regrets that [he] cannot see his way to remove all restrictions so as to enable one with a passport to remain in Australia indefinitely”. Hunt, however, added that “at the same time, he does not propose to hold that 5 years is the utmost limit which can be allowed as the period of a merchant’s stay in Australia” and that the Minister would “consider applications on their individual merits” (NGB 1910 Vol. 2, 149–50).

In other words, Hunt alluded that the Department was willing to consider Ueno’s requests favourably. Hunt concluded his letter by saying:

Mr. Batchelor knows that the Consul-General will understand to how large an extent this Department is dependent on the information which he alone is able to supply in these cases and the Minister relies fully on that information having been substantiated by independent inquiry by the Consulate-General before being submitted for his consideration.

(NGB 1910, Vol. 2, 149–50)

This final paragraph of Hunt's letter to Ueno illustrates the character of the relationship and the degree of trust between the Department of External Affairs and the Japanese Consulate-General, in which the Department held the information provided by the consul-general in high regard.

This was indeed the case, as is shown in Pamela Oliver's (2007) study of the Japanese community in Sydney during the period of the White Australia Policy. In 1916, two Japanese men applied for entry permission for their wives. One of the men was a sub-manager of a large Japanese trading firm in Sydney and approached the consul-general. The other, a clerk, applied directly to the Department of External Affairs. The sub-manager was granted permission for his wife to live in Sydney, but the clerk was refused (2007, 5). These two cases highlight the importance of consular connection. Indeed, these cases also indicate that the status of the applicants mattered, and Oliver acknowledges that higher-class people received more favourable consideration (2007, 5). However, Oliver also discusses the case of a laundry business owner who approached the consul-general and was granted a 12-month CEDT, which demonstrates that consular recommendations, irrespective of the status of the applicants, were a crucial factor in obtaining CEDTs (2007, 5–6). This indicates that the consul-general's endorsement was considered highly by the Department of External Affairs, and that the department was ready to grant entry permissions or extensions of exemptions to Japanese whose applications were supported by the consulate (2007, 5).

The importance of consular connection was also displayed in 1918 in an unusual case concerning entry permission for a family member of a Japanese passport holder. Under the Passport Agreement, family members of a Japanese passport holder were admitted into Australia and allowed to remain for so long as the passport holder maintained his residency status (Yarwood 1964, 99–100). Although this provision was understood by the Commonwealth authorities to apply only to a passport holder's wife and children, Shin Inouye, an employee of Mitsui Bussan Ltd., one of the largest Japanese trading firms at the time, attempted to bring his mother to Australia. The manager of the Sydney branch of Mitsui Bussan, Takae Urabe, approached Japanese Consul-General Seizaburō Shimizu and requested him to ask the Commonwealth government to grant Inouye's mother permission to enter Australia (NGB 1918, Vol. 1, 261). In a letter to Atlee Hunt, now secretary of the Department of Home and Territories, Shimizu explained that the word "families" was interpreted somewhat differently in Japan and could refer to children and parents, including a widowed mother, who might otherwise have to remain alone in her own country (NGB 1918, Vol. 1, 262–63). In response, Hunt, while reminding Shimizu that "the arrangement was only intended to apply to the admission of a passport holder's wife and children",

notified that “no difficulty, however, will be raised in regard to the landing of Mrs. Inouye”. He then requested Shimizu to submit a formal application on behalf of Inouye’s mother while he was “advising the Customs authorities at Thursday Island and Sydney to regard this lady as coming within the scope of the passport regulations” (NGB 1918, Vol. 1, 264).

In addition to the close relationship between the Japanese Consulate-General in Sydney and the Department of External Affairs (later the Department of Home and Territories), Hunt’s personal relationship with the English secretary to the Japanese consul-general, Edward Foxall, also influenced how the Immigration Restriction Act was applied with respect to the Japanese.²² This is demonstrated by the following case concerning entry permissions for Japanese domestic servants. In a private letter to Hunt on 8 July 1918, Foxall inquired about the possibility of allowing Japanese servants to enter Australia. Foxall explained that Japanese wives temporarily residing in Australia, particularly those with small children, were in great need of Japanese domestic help. He provided Hunt with a list of twelve families who wished to bring domestic help from Japan, adding that they were all managers or other important business people employed by big Japanese trading companies such as Mitsui Bussan and Kanematsu, and were based in Sydney and Melbourne (NGB 1918, Vol. 1, 256–58). In response, Hunt notified Foxall that the Department of Home and Territories was prepared to grant permission for the admission of Japanese servants in the five Sydney cases where there were small children. However, Hunt commented that “the matter is not without difficulty” and requested Foxall “for the present to limit the arrangement to Sydney” and to ensure that “it should not become generally known in Thursday Island, Cairns, or Broome, as applications from those towns would raise questions of very considerable difficulty”. Hunt concluded the letter by asking Foxall to inform him in advance when the five servants were scheduled to arrive so that he might give the necessary instructions to the customs authorities (NGB 1918, Vol. 1, 258–59).

The foregoing discussion illustrates the importance of the close personal relationship and the mutual trust which had developed over the years between Japanese and Australian bureaucrats, and which in turn enabled Japanese citizens to receive lenient and courteous treatment in the application of Commonwealth immigration laws. Practically all the business of the Department of External Affairs and later the Department of Home and Territories with the Japanese was conducted indirectly, through the consuls-general, who ensured that their countrymen were treated in a manner deemed appropriate for citizens of a civilised power. Australia, for its part, was aware of Japan’s high level of discontent with the White Australia Policy and was willing to comply with Japan’s requests as long as they did not conflict with the Commonwealth’s basic policy of excluding Japanese permanent settlers.

²² The close relationship between the two is indicated by the fact that they addressed each other as “Atlee” and “Ted” in their correspondences (see NGB 1918, Vol. 1, 256–59). The importance of their personal relationship, which enabled them to conduct “the behind-the-scenes negotiations”, is also pointed out by Pamela Oliver (2007, 4).

This paper has contributed a new perspective to the literature on Japanese immigration and the White Australia Policy by exploring the under-researched issue of Japanese exclusion from pre-war Australia during the era of the White Australia Policy. The Immigration Restriction Act of 1901 placed Japanese people in the same category as other non-European people and closed Australia to permanent settlement by the Japanese. However, Japanese citizens enjoyed certain privileges and special treatments which were not afforded to other non-Europeans under the White Australia Policy. Although the Commonwealth remained determined to exclude Japanese permanent settlers from Australia, it sought in many ways to render the policy of exclusion less offensive to the Japanese. In the early 1900s, two minor modifications to the Immigration Restriction Act were implemented. The first of these, the Passport Agreement, was concluded in 1904. The agreement permitted Japanese merchants, students and tourists to enter Australia temporarily without having to take the dictation test, which was mandatory for all other non-Europeans. In the following year, in 1905, the dictation test was changed so that it was no longer based specifically on a European language, but instead on any prescribed language, thereby granting Japanese immigrants nominal equality with their European counterparts. Moreover, in the administration of Commonwealth immigration laws, Japanese people, who were considered to be of a higher class than other non-European races, received far more lenient treatment than other non-Europeans and were afforded respect and extra courtesies by Australian officials. The conciliatory attitudes displayed by the Commonwealth towards Japanese citizens were prompted by Japan's rising international status as well as continuous diplomatic efforts by the Japanese government. At the same time, these concessions, particularly at administrative levels, were granted thanks to the close and cordial relationship between the Department of External Affairs (later the Department of Home and Territories) and the Japanese Consulate-General in Sydney.

However, it is important to note that the concessions Australia made concerning the entry of Japanese citizens at this time were minor. They only applied to temporary entry and were confined to certain classes of Japanese. Even while offering these concessions, the Commonwealth consistently made clear that none of its rights under the Immigration Restriction Act would be abandoned and that it retained control over Japanese citizens in Australia. In other words, although Japan fought for changes to Australia's immigration regime and achieved some minor concessions thanks to its status as a civilised power, it was unable to change pre-war Australia's basic policy regarding the exclusion of Japanese permanent settlers.

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Forfeiting Citizenship, Forfeiting Identity? Multiethnic and Multiracial Japanese Youth in Australia and the Japanese Nationality Law

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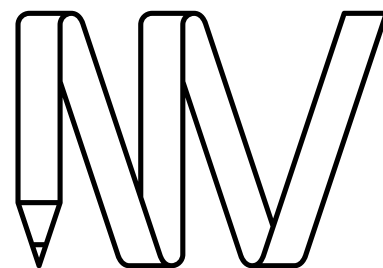
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ABSTRACT

The rising fame of multiethnic and multiracial or ‘mixed’ celebrities in Japan, such as tennis player Naomi Osaka, has brought into focus the roles of Japan’s Nationality Law and understandings of nationality and citizenship in shaping identity. According to Article 14 of Japan’s Nationality Law, persons holding multiple nationalities must choose to forfeit all but one before the age of 22. In this article I aim to address how multiethnic and multiracial youths of Japanese descent in Australia are approaching the ambiguities surrounding their citizenship and nationality rights. To do so I will closely examine to what extent the Nationality Law affects their future decisions and identities by drawing upon evidence from in-depth interviews I conducted with mixed Japanese youth who are the child of one Japanese parent and one non-Japanese parent and live in Australia. Using Pierre Bourdieu’s theory of cultural capital, I argue that mixed Japanese youth in Australia perceive citizenship less as an agent of identity and more as an index of socioeconomic opportunity. My findings demonstrate that these individuals actively strive to maintain their dual citizenship and strategically align their cultural capital to realise meaningful cross-cultural careers that communicate between Australia, Japan, and their own mixed identities.

KEYWORDS

Australia; careers; citizenship; contemporary; cultural capital; hafu; Japanese Australian; law; mobility; multiethnic identity; nationality law; Nikkei; social and cultural identity; youth



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On October 10, 2019, just days before she was to turn 22, tennis player and American-Japanese dual national Naomi Osaka announced that she had chosen to forfeit her American nationality in accordance with the Japanese Nationality Law (国籍法; hereafter, 'Nationality Law') (NHK News 2019). In the year leading up to her decision, pundits and sports fans in both the US and Japan had questioned Osaka's preferred nationality, and speculated about which nation she would choose to represent for the remainder of her career. American media outlets like *The New York Times* framed Osaka as an ethnically *mixed* celebrity who was redefining what it means to be Japanese (Rich 2018). Meanwhile, in Japan, many questioned why mainstream Japanese news sources were conveniently positioning Osaka as 'quiet' and 'shy', two stereotyped characteristics of an ideal *Japanese* woman (Burgess 2018; Yamada 2018; Iwase 2018). The global media response to Osaka's decision in the face of the Nationality Law prompted the public to debate the extent to which ethnic identity determines a person's nationality, and furthermore, who or what determines a person's ethnic identity in the first place.

As Chris Burgess (2018) writes, Osaka's nationality and identity has brought to our attention the issue of Japan's myth of ethnic homogeneity (単一民族) and the *nihonjinron* (日本人論) discourses which work to render Japanese identity as exclusive and essentialist.¹ In his earlier work, Burgess (2004) explains how multiethnic Japanese like Osaka, known as *hāfu* (ハーフ) in Japan, are constantly pushing and pulling against the established ethno-national Japanese identity found within active discourses like *nihonjinron* to establish their own membership within Japanese society.² An expansive array of literature has investigated the identities of mixed Japanese both within (e.g., Törngren 2018; Takeshita 2019) and outside of Japan (e.g., Suzuki 2011; Yamashiro 2017; Shao-Kobayashi 2019), as well as the area of mixed Japanese and Japan's Nationality Law (Hara 2018).³ My article contributes to this body of work by examining a so-far overlooked demographic within Japanese identity studies: mixed Japanese youth in Australia.

In this article, I will first define citizenship and nationality and explain the Nationality Law, its ambiguity, and the history of activism that surrounds it. I will then discuss how mixed Japanese youth in Australia are navigating the Nationality Law and examine the extent to which the law affects their decisions and sense of identity. To do so, I will draw upon interview data I collected in 2019 from 14 participants between the ages of 18 and 24, where

1 Japan's myth of ethnic homogeneity has been discussed widely but most notably by sociologist Eiji Oguma (1995), who argues that post-war Japanese society was collectively consumed by the myth that Japan has always been an ethnically homogenous nation, despite evidence of early international migration that demonstrates otherwise. Additionally, *nihonjinron* is a genre of academic and popular literature that remains active in public discourse, and has produced various essentialised analyses of Japanese identity with a focus on three themes: appearance (ethnicity or race), nationality and language/cultural proficiency (Sugimoto 1999).

2 *Hāfu*, a derivative of the English word 'half', refers to Japanese persons of mixed race and/or ethnicity. The emergence of the term has been traced back to the early 1990s. Many have argued that *hāfu* is a derogatory term that frames mixed Japanese persons as literally 'half' or 'less than' a Japanese person (Murphy-Shigematsu 2000; Yamashiro 2017).

3 I have borrowed the phrase "mixed persons" from the work of Sayaka Osanami Törngren (2018), who uses it as shorthand for "multi-ethnic and multiracial" to refer to "someone who has parents of differing racial and ethnic backgrounds" (749). 'Race' is a social construct that often implies biological differences, whereas 'ethnicity' as a construct evokes notions of culture, symbols, group identity or collective memory (Song 2003). As Song argues, it is difficult to refer to race without also speaking of ethnicity (2003, 11). Therefore, in the context of this article, 'mixed Japanese' refers to persons who are in part ethnically and/or racially Japanese.

each interviewee was the child of a Japanese and a non-Japanese parent, and was living in Australia at the time. The majority of interviews were conducted in English, with some Japanese used by participants to refer to culturally specific phenomena.

My findings demonstrate that mixed Japanese youth in Australia perceive themselves as mostly unaffected by the Nationality Law due to its lack of enforcement in Japan and abroad by the Japanese Ministry of Justice (法務省). In contrast with the strong relationship between identity and citizenship in the case of Naomi Osaka's citizenship decision, as highlighted by the media hysteria surrounding it, I argue that most mixed Japanese youth in Australia value citizenship predominantly as an index of socioeconomic opportunity and less as a marker of identity. I further argue that the value placed upon the economic authority of citizenship status by mixed Japanese youth in Australia is proven by the ways in which they strategically maintain their dual citizenship status as cultural capital to help build their employability, increase their mobility and achieve cross-cultural careers. Pierre Bourdieu's (1986) theory of cultural capital is an application of economic theory to sociology which holds that each individual embodies specific cultural knowledge and skills (i.e., cultural capital) that they can use to produce new relationships and products. I have applied Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital to my findings to help understand the culturally specific skills and knowledge that mixed Japanese youth in Australia leverage to produce desirable economic and personal outcomes.

CITIZENSHIP AND NATIONALITY

It is important to first note the significant difference between the use of the anglophone term 'citizenship' and its nearest Japanese equivalent, '*shiminken*' (市民権). According to Tessa Morris-Suzuki, in English the word 'citizenship' conflates both (1) nationality, expressed by the term '*kokuseki*' (国籍) in Japanese, and (2) political and social rights, which the Japanese term '*shiminken*' represents (2015, 68). According to an Australian Department of Immigration and Citizenship report titled *Citizenship and Immigration*, an example of political and social rights in the Australian context may include the right to vote in elections, thereby denoting a formal establishment "of membership (in the) national community" (Smith et al. 2010, 3). This demonstrates that the act of voting (the '*shiminken*' dimension of citizenship) is directly linked to national membership (i.e., nationality; the '*kokuseki*' dimension of citizenship) in Australian official discourse.

On the other hand, in Japan, nationality (*kokuseki*) and citizenship (*shiminken*) are understood as two separate entities: as a blood right, and as legal rights and "capabilities", respectively (Morris-Suzuki 2015, 68). What Morris-Suzuki refers to when speaking of the "capabilities" of citizenship is

The ability to live securely in a particular place, to have access to various forms of social welfare and protection, to participate actively in various sorts of autonomous and social forums, and to participate in the political life of the state. (Morris-Suzuki 2015, 69)

Morris-Suzuki (2015) argues that there are various forms of “semi-citizenship” in Japan, and that each form dictates the varying level of capabilities of each resident (67). She goes on to expose the institutionalised marginalisation that dictates the varying forms of semi-citizenship that exist in Japan underneath the apex title of the “full citizen”, a Japan-born, Japanese national (Morris-Suzuki 2015, 67).⁴ One example is the form of citizenship titled ‘special permanent resident’ (特別永住者) which is typically held by Zainichi Koreans (在日韓国人; 在日朝鮮人). ‘Zainichi’ (在日; lit., ‘residing in Japan’) is a Japanese term used to refer to pre- and post-war forced and unforced migrants in Japan, and their descendants (Chapman 2008). Zainichi Koreans, therefore, are migrants from the Korean peninsula and their descendants.⁵ According to Green (2013), Zainichi Koreans are afforded the title ‘special’ because they “do not have to apply directly for permanent residency in Japan”; however, they have fewer capabilities than a Japanese citizen because they are prohibited from voting in elections and holding positions in government (n.p.).⁶ Unlike permanent residency categories of the US or Australia, “special permanent residence status in Japan is no guarantee of eventual [full Japanese] citizenship”, which can only be obtained via the long and difficult process of naturalisation (Ryang 2008, 12). Nationality (*kokuseki*) is therefore positioned in Japan as unalterable and the height of an official claim to membership in Japanese society. This is in part because Japanese nationality is legally ascribed on the basis of the nationality of the child’s parents (*jus sanguinis*) and not by birth on Japanese soil (*jus soli*).⁷

In this article, when discussing the dual nationalities of the Australia-based participants in my study and their decisions to forfeit a nationality, I will use the term ‘citizenship’ (*shiminken*) rather than ‘nationality’ (*kokuseki*). This reflects the word choice of the participants, who solely used the word ‘citizenship’ during interviews. When discussing the Nationality Law in the context of mixed Japanese dual nationals in Japan, such as in the following paragraph, I will use the term ‘nationality’.

THE JAPANESE NATIONALITY LAW

According to the Japanese Ministry of Justice website, Article 14 of the

⁴ See Morris-Suzuki (2015) for further explanation of the distinction between nationality and citizenship in the Japanese context.

⁵ According to Sonia Ryang (2008), “Koreans in Japan had no official nationality available [to] them” prior to 1965 (8). The semi-citizenship category of ‘special permanent resident’ was created in 1965 after the signing of the normalisation treaty between the Republic of Korea (ROK) and Japan. The category of ‘special permanent resident’ enabled Zainichi Koreans to access Japanese public health and education services and thereby improved “the legal status of the ROK-affiliated (South Korean) Zainichi population” who were eligible for the category (Chapman 2008, 70). However, this meant that to be eligible for the special residency status and gain access to public welfare, Zainichi Koreans had no choice but to claim South Korean (韓国) nationality, “even though for some this was in direct opposition to their ideological position” (Chapman 2008, 32). It was only after revisions in 1992 that all former colonial subjects from North and South Korea and Taiwan who had been living in Japan since 1945 were unified under the status of ‘special permanent resident’ (Söderberg 2011; Chapman 2019). Today, North Korea is not recognised as a sovereign state by Japan, and “a minority of Koreans in Japan continue to have *chōsen* [朝鮮; lit., the former undivided ‘Korea’, but a term now often associated with North Korea] listed as their nationality even though *chōsen* is not a formally recognised nationality in Japan” (Ryang 2008, 8).

⁶ Japan’s Liberal Democratic Party has long argued that granting permanent foreign residents the right to vote is “unconstitutional” and would hinder “the already low naturalization rates among Korean residents” (Chung 2010, 115).

⁷ Claims to Japanese nationality outside of Japan are particularly complex due to the relationships between the Japanese judicial system, the Nationality Law and Japan’s *koseki* (戸籍; family registry) system (Hara 2018).

Nationality Law maintains that a Japanese national who also holds a foreign nationality must choose to forfeit one of those nationalities before they reach the age of 22 (Ministry of Justice n.d.[a]). This law lies in accordance with the principle of *jus sanguinis* (nationality by right of blood), as opposed to *jus soli* (nationality by right of soil or location of birth) and operates closely in coordination with the Japanese National Family Registry or *koseki* (戸籍) system (Gottlieb 2012).

However, many studies have shown that the Nationality Law's stipulation of a single nationality for Japanese citizens differs greatly from the reality of the situation, because many mixed Japanese have been able to maintain dual nationality past the age of 22 (Takeda 2005; Murakami and Baird 2018; Takeda 2018). For example, of 1,449 Japanese dual citizens surveyed by *The Japan Times*, a leading English-language newspaper in Japan, 76.8% of respondents stated that they had maintained both of their passports past the age of 22 (Murakami and Baird 2018). As Murakami and Baird highlight, this is due in part to two reasons: (1) "the [Nationality Law]...fails to specify any penalties against dual nationals who do not pick a nationality", and (2) the Japanese government has no specific means of measuring how many Japanese citizens hold multiple nationalities (2018, n.p.). In addition, I suggest that the process behind forfeiting nationality has also contributed to a lack of cooperation with the Nationality Law.

According to the Ministry of Justice website, if a dual national decides to forfeit their nationality whilst in Japan or overseas, the onus is on the dual national to approach their local embassy or government office to begin the application (Ministry of Justice n.d.[b]). A Ministry of Justice official disclosed to Murakami and Baird that the "right to warn such nationals under the 1985 revision of the Nationality Law has never been exercised...partly because the act of tracking down citizens with multiple nationalities and encouraging them to make a choice would be a bureaucratic nightmare" (2018, n.p.). However, the article cites several multinational persons recounting occasions where, on a routine visit to their local municipal office in Japan, they were made to forfeit one or more of their nationalities on the spot (Murakami and Baird 2018). These first-hand accounts signify the unpredictable enforcement of the Nationality Law and echo anxieties articulated by numerous mixed Japanese youth whom I interviewed for this study, who worried that they may be impelled by authorities to forfeit one or more of their nationalities on their next trip to Japan.

THE LOCAL RESPONSE OF MIXED JAPANESE AND JAPANESE COMMUNITIES

In this section I provide a short overview of how mixed Japanese communities based in Japan have responded to the Nationality Law. As Erin Chung (2010) explains, many "noncitizens" in Japan have created their own public channels to voice opposition to Japan's citizenship policies and, by extension, "the notion that Japan is culturally homogenous" (176). Among these groups, it is important to make special note of Zainichi Koreans, who

historically have led strong activist movements against the political, social and economic inequities as well as the exclusionary practices that the Japanese state has imposed upon them (Chapman 2008; Chung 2010).⁸

Another group that has pioneered human rights activism for non-Japanese residents is an NPO named 'Citizen's Network for Japanese-Filipino Children' (hereafter, 'CNJFC'). The CNJFC's most notable achievement was its role as agent for Japanese-Filipino children and their family members in a 2008 court case titled 'the Nationality Affirmation Case'. The case is heralded as a landmark lawsuit, as it resulted in reform of the Nationality Law and marked a significant re-evaluation of how nationality is understood in Japan (Suzuki 2010, 42). Anthropologist Nobue Suzuki (2010) conducted extensive fieldwork in the years leading up to the case, which included interviews with the NGOs, activists and plaintiffs involved. In her paper, she argues that the numerous lawsuits fought by foreign mothers, including Korean and Filipino women, against the Nationality Law during the 1990s and early 2000s ultimately had a positive impact on the 2008 victory for Japanese-Filipino children (Suzuki 2010). The numerous reasons why foreign mothers fought for their children's rights to Japanese nationality are detailed further in Suzuki's (2010) work; however, for mothers of Japanese-Filipino children, the most common drivers were "the uncertainty from their citizenships, identities and future, as well as...other problems, such as the stigma from fatherlessness and poverty" (2010, 36). The Nationality Affirmation Case resulted in an amendment to allow Japanese nationality to a child born out of wedlock to a Japanese father and a foreign mother, thereby also allowing them Japanese citizenship (Chung and Kim 2012; Hara 2018).⁹ The Nationality Affirmation Case was not only symbolic of a rare event where non-Japanese successfully contested the Japanese policy of *jus sanguinis* (Hara 2018), but Chung and Kim (2012) also argue that it showed how minority multiethnic communities are problematising the notion of an ethnically homogenous Japan.

Japan-based academic research into the Nationality Law has brought to light local opinions of the law and how it has affected multiethnic communities in Japan. In 2005, Michi Takeda conducted a survey involving the 328 members of the Association of Multicultural Families (国際結婚を考える会), an organisation started by seven Japanese women in 1980 to campaign for the civil rights of multicultural couples and to protest against aspects of the Nationality Law. The survey found that around 70% of the dual national "children" surveyed hoped to maintain both of their nationalities for future residency and employment opportunities (Takeda 2005, 7).¹⁰ More recently,

⁸ Examples of activism by Zainichi Koreans include the 1970s Hitachi discrimination case and the 1980s anti-fingerprinting movement. The Hitachi discrimination case was a legal and social battle that began when Zainichi Korean Pak Chong Sok was denied a position at Japanese company Hitachi because he was "not 'officially' Japanese" (Chapman 2008, 34). The anti-fingerprinting movement was a legal and social movement led by Zainichi Korean residents against the compulsory fingerprinting of foreign residents, including permanent residents like Zainichi Koreans (Chung 2010).

⁹ Suzuki (2010) notes in her conclusion that whilst some Japanese-Filipino children who grew up in The Philippines and later came to Japan have been able to become Japanese nationals and thus enjoy the benefits of Japanese citizenship, there remain numerous challenges that prevent them from becoming members of Japanese society, such as a lack of knowledge of Japanese cultural norms or a lack of Japanese proficiency.

¹⁰ Takeda's (2005) data sample was taken from members of the Association for Multicultural Families and consisted of 75 dual national "children" (子供) and 141 "parents" (親) (6). The statistic presented above reflects data collected from the 75 dual national children aged 7 to 12 (34.7%), 13 to 15 (12.5%), 16 to 18 (19.4%), 19 to 22 (9.7%) and 23 onwards (9.8%) (Takeda 2005, 6-7).

the Japanese newspaper *Mainichi Shinbun* reported that in an online survey led by Sasaki Teru of Aomori Public University in February 2019, over half of those surveyed said that they saw no issue with foreign nationals applying for Japanese nationality (Wada 2019), suggesting potential public approval for dual nationality in Japan. At the time of writing, activists including the Association of Multicultural Families are running a petition to change the Nationality Law to allow individuals to maintain their dual nationality status (Association for Multicultural Families n.d.). However, it is important to note that the focus of activism by foreign and mixed Japanese nationals is not limited to the Nationality Law: recently, three female activists based in Tokyo—Chung Woohi, Amy Tiffany Loo and Yuka Hamanaka—launched a campaign for non-Japanese nationals’ suffrage in Japan (Fitzpatrick 2019).

Prior research shows that the choice of forfeiting a nationality not only affects future choices related to living and employment for dual nationals, but it also strongly affects their idea of identity (Takeda 2008; Hara 2018). As a former Canadian-Japanese dual national told an interviewer for the YouTube channel ‘Asian Boss’, “both nationalities were a part of my identity, but because Japanese law makes you choose, I feel like my identity is sort of dismissed” (Should Naomi Osaka 2019). For mixed Japanese in Japan, Japanese nationality is as much a means of securing permanent residency status as it is a symbol of membership to a wider community. Within this context, my research examines the way in which mixed Japanese youth in Australia are navigating the implications of the Nationality Law, and by extension, how they are navigating their own multiethnic and multiracial identities as well.

METHODOLOGY

Using semi-structured interviews, I interviewed 14 participants during the period from June to August 2019. Participants were between the ages of 18 and 24; each was the child of one Japanese and one non-Japanese parent, and all were living in Australia at the time. All participants were either tertiary students or graduates who were either unemployed full-time students, full time students with part-time positions, or full-time workers who had recently graduated. Their parents’ employment status varied, and included blue collar and white collar positions such as builders, business owners and teachers, as well as stay-at-home mothers and retired persons. Four interviews were conducted via e-mail and ten interviews were conducted in person at The University of Queensland, St. Lucia campus. All interviews were conducted in English with some Japanese also used. To maintain participant anonymity, pseudonyms are used in place of real names throughout this article. Follow-up interviews were conducted via e-mail where clarification or further explanation was needed. The recruitment process involved displaying advertisements around the St. Lucia campus, as well as advertising and snowball sampling through the membership and social media channels of UQ WASABI (The University of Queensland’s Japanese Language and Culture Society for students), as well as The Japan Foundation, Sydney and The Japanese Society of the Gold Coast.¹¹

¹¹ As of October 21st, 2019, UQ WASABI’s name was changed to ‘UQ Japan Exchange’ (UQJX or 日本交流会).

An overview of basic demographic information of participants, including age, country of birth, parental nationalities and self-described cultural background, is provided in Table 1. As evidenced by the table, the majority of respondents were the child of a Japanese mother and an Australian father, which provided fertile ground for a comparative analysis across participants who shared commonalities but articulated different cultural identities. The column titled ‘Citizenship to Forfeit’ lists participant responses to a scenario where they were asked to choose which citizenship they would hypothetically forfeit if required to do so, as further discussed in my analysis below. In this column, N/A (not applicable) is used for participants who were ineligible to answer the scenario as they were not dual citizens at the time of the interview. I have also included participants’ self-descriptions of their cultural backgrounds in Table 1 to illustrate that despite commonalities such as parents’ nationalities or place of birth, participants’ responses suggested diversity in their self-described cultural backgrounds and the expressions of their mixed identities.

Table 1: General Participant Findings

Name	Citizenship	Citizenship to Forfeit	Parents’ Nationality	Age	Country of Birth	Cultural Background (Self-described)
Mike	AUS & JPN	AUS	M=JPN, F=AUS	20	JPN	Unsure
Anastasia	AUS & JPN	AUS	M=JPN, F=AUS	23	AUS	Half Japanese, half Australian
Luke	AUS & JPN	AUS	M=JPN, F=AUS	21	AUS	More Japanese than Australian
Veronica	AUS & JPN	JPN	M=JPN, F=AUS	21	AUS	Mixed background—Japanese or Australian identification depends on the situation and location
Jun	AUS & JPN	JPN	M=JPN, F=AUS	23	JPN	A mix of Japanese and Australian
Isaac	AUS & JPN	JPN	M=JPN, F=AUS	20	JPN	Japanese Mother and an Australian Father, and from Cairns
Jenny	AUS & JPN	JPN	M=JPN, F=AUS	21	AUS	Japanese mother and an Australian father but born and raised in Australia
Soma	AUS & JPN	JPN	M=JPN, F=AUS	22	JPN	Mostly Australian with aspects of Japanese
Ren	AUS & JPN	Keep both	M=JPN, F=AUS	22	AUS	Half Japanese, half Australian
Daichi	AUS & JPN	Keep both	M=JPN, F=AUS	22	JPN	A mix between Australian and Japanese
Yui	AUS	Unsure	M=JPN, F=IRANIAN	19	AUS	Persian/Iranian (Dad) and Japanese (Mum)
Lilly	AUS	N/A	M=JPN, F=ITALIAN	19	AUS	Australian with a Japanese and Italian ethnic background.
Mary	AUS	N/A	M=JPN, F=AUS/IRE	21	AUS	An Australian influenced by a Japanese upbringing
Hiro	AUS	N/A	M=TWN, F=JPN	19	AUS	“A blur between all 3 cultures” (Australia, Japan, Taiwan)

Key:

JPN = Japan/Japanese, AUS = Australia/Australian, TWN = Taiwanese
 AUS/IRE = Australian of Irish Heritage, M = mother, F = father

In my analysis of the interview data collected, I apply Pierre Bourdieu's (1986) theory of cultural capital to help visualise the invisible skills and knowledge that mixed Japanese youth hold. Erik Neveu (2018) summarises cultural capital clearly and concisely as follows.

Cultural capital is made of knowledge and know-how, of the skills and analytical tools that allow one to manage and produce social relations, cultural products, and technical devices.

(Neveu 2018, 5)

Neveu's definition emphasises the intangible nature of cultural capital, as well as its role in yielding profit for its owner. In applying this definition, examples of cultural capital held by mixed Japanese youth in Australia may include their cross-cultural knowledge of Australia and Japan, their knowledge of expected behaviours in different cultural environments, and their bilingualism. Furthermore, their cultural capital may also be seen as either Japanese capital or Australian capital. For example, Japanese capital may include their Japanese language ability or knowledge of expected behaviours within Japanese contexts.

However, Neveu (2018) argues that the above definition falls short of noting several other aspects of cultural capital that I have found to be applicable to my findings. As Bourdieu (1986) explains, cultural capital holds a "scarcity value"; in other words, the rarer the capital is, the higher its value becomes (246). As such, competition may follow between holders of certain forms of cultural capital (Neveu 2018). Additionally, cultural capital requires an active investment of time, such as in learning a new language or gaining new knowledge, in order to be effective (Bourdieu 1986). Finally, the yields of cultural capital are relative to the "social situation" in which the capital is implemented (Neveu 2018, 1). Bourdieu (1986) uses an example of a person who is "able to read in a world of illiterates" to emphasise how scarcity value and social context control the value of cultural capital (245).

I have applied Bourdieu's (1986) concept of cultural capital throughout my analysis below to better understand the ways in which mixed Japanese youth actively invest in their cultural capital and implement it in their professional spheres to produce more favourable economic outcomes. After conducting a discourse analysis of participant responses, I found that four dimensions of cultural capital as discussed above were pertinent to the participants of this study: scarcity value, social relativity, time investment and intangibility. By applying these dimensions of cultural capital to my analysis, I aim to visualise how mixed Japanese youth in Australia implement their cultural capital in a professional capacity. Additionally, I will use Bourdieu's (1986) concept to examine how the participants align their cultural capital with their citizenship status to achieve professional and personal goals.

Forfeiting Citizenship

Of the 14 participants in the study, three held Australian citizenship only and 11 held both Japanese and Australian citizenship. Of the 11 dual citizens who participated, five were 22 years or older and six were 21 or under. All five participants who were aged 22 and above, and were thereby past the age limit for dual citizenship under Japanese law, were dual citizens at the time. All five stated that they would attempt to maintain their dual citizenship status for as long as possible. To do so, pre-emptively and prior to turning 22, participants had renewed their Japanese passport in Australia for the maximum length of 10 years. No participants had been through the process of forfeiting one of their nationalities.

Most participants knew of the Nationality Law through their Japanese parent, friends or their own research on the internet. Upon asking participants about their knowledge of the law, I found that 8 of the 11 dual national respondents either did not know anything of the law or held incorrect knowledge of the law due to the second-hand nature of the information they had received. For example, some respondents believed the age of forfeiting to be 20 or 21 instead of 22. A survey conducted by Takeda (2005) in Japan found that 37% of young dual national respondents stated that they knew nothing of the law (7). In 2008, Takeda conducted the survey again for dual nationals outside of Japan, such as in Austria, Nepal and other countries, and found that 45.5% of respondents answered that they did not have any knowledge of the law (26). Although the smaller sample of my study presents a higher percentage (73%) of respondents without accurate knowledge of the law, Takeda's study similarly draws attention to the surprising number of dual nationals inside and outside of Japan who are unaware of the details of the Nationality Law.

Many participants in my study presented a view of the Nationality Law that greatly contrasted with the opinions of mixed Japanese communities in Japan, such as the aforementioned Association for Multicultural Families which sees the Nationality Law as in need of revision. Participants believed the Nationality Law was just insofar as it aligned with their presumed understanding of a historically "nationalistic" Japanese government (Luke 2019). As Luke states, "I can respect why [the Nationality Law exists] because Japan has had a history of closing off borders and...[it's] very nationalistic". However, not all participants thought this way:

I think that the [Japanese Nationality] Act may be outdated, especially with Japan adopting a more global lens and more people from around the world travelling/visiting/living/taking interest in Japan. Yes, it would be awesome if the Act was changed.

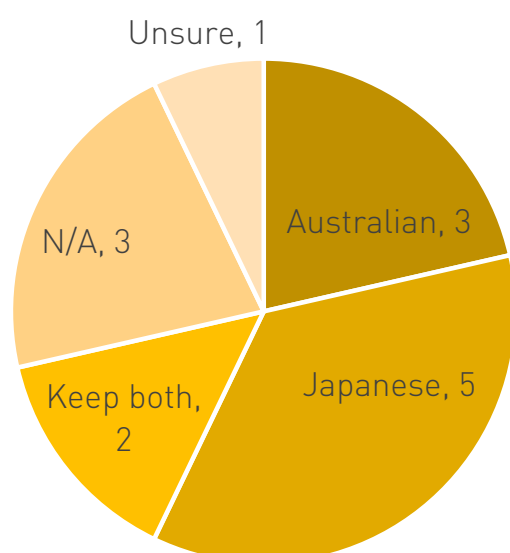
(Yui 2019)

As Yui's comment above illustrates, some also saw the law as representing an unfair and outdated approach to citizenship, and being contra to Japan's

soft power expansion, its role as a global leader and its many globalisation projects, such as Cool Japan or the (now postponed) 2020 Olympics.¹²

I asked participants to tell me which citizenship they would hypothetically forfeit if they were put into a situation where they were forced to forfeit one. As shown in Figure 1, three participants said that they would choose to forfeit their Australian citizenship, five would forfeit their Japanese citizenship, two would try to keep both, and one was undecided. Participants answered with a variety of responses that reflected varying perceptions of what citizenship means, and varying concepts of the relationship between citizenship status and identity. The three participants without Japanese nationality at the time of interview were tallied as N/A, as the question was not applicable. The following section of my analysis will explore the reasons behind the participants' response to the question, and the extent to which they believe that forfeiting their citizenship would result in forfeiting their identity.

Figure 1: Participant answers to “Which citizenship would you forfeit?”



Forfeiting Japanese Citizenship

When responding to the hypothetical question of which citizenship they would forfeit if necessary, the majority of participants suggested that they would forfeit their Japanese citizenship. The reasons for this response varied. The data indicated that several participants would forfeit their Japanese citizenship because they have no plans to live in Japan or stay in Japan for an extended period in future.

I'm not too fussed about being a Japanese citizen to be honest, but I think mum really wants me to have a foot in the door, like if she wants to go back to Japan like I can't help her because I'm not a Japanese citizen...[But] I'm not too fussed about it and I don't plan to live the rest of my life in Japan, like it would be cool but I don't plan to.
(Jenny 2018)

¹² Several academics have argued that recent Japanese efforts towards globalisation or multiculturalism are still undermined by *nihonjinron* (日本人論) discourses of Japanese ethnic homogeneity and identity theory. See Burgess (2015) or Lee et al. (2006) for more on Japan's inward-looking policies and its complicated relationship with globalisation and multiculturalism.

Like Jenny, other participants also noted that their Japanese parent wanted them to keep their Japanese citizenship in case they needed to return to Japan for an extended period in future. However, many countered their parent's argument by explaining that they already enjoy a high level of mobility between Japan and Australia as they are able to travel to Japan from Australia on the three-month Japanese tourist visa. The data also showed that those who said they would forfeit their Japanese citizenship often justified the decision with the rationalisation that they would not be able to contribute to Japanese society or participate in Japanese politics as a Japanese citizen, such as by voting in Japanese elections, as they are not knowledgeable enough of the Japanese social, political and economic landscapes to make informed political decisions. In other words, participants perceived themselves as lacking an adequate amount of Japanese capital to perform civic duties in Japan. This perspective neglects that fact that, unlike in Australia, voting in elections is not compulsory in Japan. More significantly, however, it correlates with Morris-Suzuki's (2015) thesis that understandings of nationality (*kokuseki*) are often conflated with the duties of a citizen, or '*shimin*' (市民), within the anglophone context.

Participants also stated that they would maintain Australian citizenship to take advantage of educational initiatives that they would only have access to as Australian citizens, such as the Australian HECS (Higher Education Contribution Scheme) system, or the Japanese MEXT (Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology) scholarship, which is only available to non-Japanese citizens. As a 2018 roundtable on student mobility highlighted, Japan continues to maintain a position as an attractive overseas study destination for Australian students in tertiary education (The Japan Foundation, Sydney 2019). This marks just one of the examples that demonstrates how mixed Japanese youth align their citizenship status and their cultural capital to realise professional outcomes.

In addition to economic reasons, participants suggested that they would consider other personal reasons such as their friendship networks or their mixed identities when making decisions around forfeiting citizenship. Participants who said that they would forfeit their Japanese citizenship were those who demonstrated throughout the interview that they held a closer connection to their Australian identities and a feeling of belonging in Australia, rather than Japan. For example, Jenny stated she would choose Australian citizenship because she lives in Australia and plans to continue her studies in Australia. Similarly, Daiichi (2019) explained that he would not want to give up his Australian citizenship to "avoid breaking a lot of ties that [he has] slowly built over a long time in Australia". Jun shared a similar sentiment, as she has established a life in Australia and feels it would be better to forfeit her Japanese citizenship.

I feel like it's a shame that I can't say that I am both Japanese and Australian, but I also feel like I've planned and had my life in Australia for most of the time, so it almost seems unfair to then want something else as well. I guess because I have family and some friends still in Japan that I'm close to, I feel like I still have a valid enough connection without that. I guess then again

having an Australian passport I can go to Japan so easily as well, it's easy to travel. It would be nice to have both, but it doesn't really add anything to me. (Jun 2019)

A close reading of her comment reveals that Jun feels she would still enjoy the same travel benefits that she has as a dual citizen, even if she forfeited her Japanese passport. This contrasts with the situation of many other mixed Japanese youth who are at a similar life stage to the participants in my study, such as Japanese Filipinos (see Hara 2018) or Japanese Indonesians (see Suzuki 2011), for whom the decision to forfeit their Japanese citizenship becomes difficult when they consider the economic and political stability of The Philippines or Indonesia.¹³ For example, two Japanese Filipinos who were born and raised in The Philippines were interviewed by Megumi Hara (2018) in The Philippines and Japan between 2008 and 2015. The participants spoke of “their motivation to acquire Japanese nationality” after new allowances to Japanese Nationality acquisition were granted following the 2008 Nationality Affirmation Case, as discussed above (170). Notably, attractive economic prospects such as a higher salary and stable socioeconomic conditions were the main motivations behind their desire to acquire Japanese nationality, which both eventually achieved, thereafter settling permanently in Japan (170). My data supports Hara's (2018) hypothesis that “the impact of obtaining Japanese nationality differs [according to] the parents' country of origin and socioeconomic settings” (159). This is exemplified by the case of Jun, who enjoys relative political and economic stability in both countries (Australia and Japan), and is thus at less of an impasse when contemplating forfeiting one of her citizenships.

Forfeiting Australian Citizenship

The results thus far suggest that participants perceive a strong relationship between their citizenship status, economic futures, mobility across borders and identity. However, several participants stated that they felt their citizenship status was unrelated to their identity as a mixed Japanese. For example, when asked if he would want to keep his Australian citizenship, Luke responded:

Not really. Like I said, I'd rather keep it if I could but, Japan doesn't allow it so it's just the way it is, so there's no point in being upset about it...I don't feel like I am as Australian anymore. So, I wouldn't be too disappointed. I mean, it's not like it's gonna change me in any way. I am still who I am, but...it won't affect me too much I think.

(Luke 2019)

In the quote above, it is evident that Luke's hypothetical decision to forfeit his Australian citizenship is informed by a feeling of disconnection from his Australian identity. All three participants who suggested that they would forfeit their Australian citizenship expressed a strong connection with their Japanese identities and feelings of belonging towards Japan. Further, they all

13 In Hara's (2018) study, participants are described as “Japanese Filipino youth” who grew up in The Philippines and were over the age of 18 at the time of the study (165). In Suzuki's (2011) Indonesia-based study, participants ranged between the ages of 17 to 19, were born and raised in Japan, and later moved to Indonesia in their adolescence (77).

showed an interest in working and living in Japan in the future. They also cited the value of the Japanese passport as a factor in their decision, as the Japanese passport was ranked as the most powerful passport in the world in 2019 and 2020 by the Henley Passport Index (Adams 2019).¹⁴

Luke (2019) makes a point of asserting that his choice of citizenship would not affect who he is: “I am still who I am”. Other participants also felt that their citizenship status does not define the parameters of their identity, such as Jun (2019), who chose to hypothetically forfeit her Japanese citizenship:

When I was younger it felt like a bigger deal, but to me because I feel much more comfortable with who I am, that’s just a piece of paper. Like I know who I am, I guess?
 (Jun 2019)

Like Jun, several participants suggested that forfeiting one of their citizenships would not result in a loss of a sense of identity. Additionally, when describing their identities, many participants first referred to factors such as family, friends, hobbies and careers, which they perceived as more influential than their citizenship status. This finding correlates with emerging mixed Japanese identity studies literature (Shimoji-Lawrence 2018; Keane 2018) which has gestured towards the benefits of exploring a range of identity indices beyond nationality, such as gender, phenotype, environment and, importantly, language.

Forfeiting Identity

As illustrated above, participants such as Luke and Jun asserted that their citizenship status was not an indicator of their identities. Some, however, valued citizenship as a representation of their ethnicity and as an index of their mixed identity:

I’m kind of annoyed because I don’t want to have to choose, I want both. But then, I do understand...why they’re so strict. I don’t wanna lose either, I am both Australian and Japanese so why do I have to choose what passport?
 (Anastasia 2019)

As Anastasia’s frustration highlights, the Nationality Law poses a challenge for multiethnic and multiracial outliers and their mixed identities. One of the dominant challenges for mixed Japanese youth in Australia is the struggle to maintain a cultural balance between engagement with their Japanese and Australian capital. This corroborates findings from the long-term study presented in Pollock and van Reken’s (2009) book titled *Third Culture Kids*, which included participants from a range of cultural backgrounds and ages including mixed Japanese persons.¹⁵ Pollock and van Reken (2009) found

¹⁴ The Henley Passport Index is an annual ranking system of the world’s passports based on “the number of destinations their holders can access without a prior visa”, using data derived from the International Air Transport Association (Henley Passport Index n.d.). Japan ranks first as it offers passport holders visa-free or visa-on-arrival entry to 191 countries (O’Hare 2020).

¹⁵ ‘Third Culture Kids’ is a term Pollock and van Reken (2009) use to refer to children born to parents of two separate nationalities and raised in a country outside of their parents’ culture—for example, an American-South American child raised on a US military base in Japan. No participants in this study were Japanese Australians or Nikkei Australians, but some sections of the book include information on Japanese repatriate children (帰国子女; 海外子女).

that ‘Third Culture Kids’ often struggle to maintain a balance between the cultures they are invested in, such as their parents’ cultures and the cultural environment they are raised in. Participants in my study evidenced similar fears of losing connection to their cultural background or identity, which often manifested as a fear of losing their Japanese language proficiency.

For some mixed Japanese in Australia, Japan’s Nationality Law threatens to further disconnect them from one of their cultural backgrounds and is seen as a symbolic refusal to acknowledge their identities as mixed Japanese Australians. On the other hand, some participants in my study questioned their right to Japanese nationality:

I believe that it is pretty in line with what I know and have experienced of Japanese culture. Japan is a very patriotic country and it is difficult to be accepted in Japanese society unless you are fully Japanese. Even as a half Japanese person, I believe retaining my Japanese citizenship would not really make me ‘Japanese’ and so while I would like to live there for a short time, I could not make full use of my citizenship and live there for the majority of my life.

(Veronica 2019)

Like Veronica, some participants felt that even if they retained their dual citizenship, they would never be truly acknowledged as Japanese nationals in Japan due to the range of other factors influencing their socially perceived identities, such as phenotype or language use. As past research has suggested, Japan maintains a strong ‘foreigner vs. Japanese’ binary that has permeated its institutions and society (e.g., Burgess 2004; Lee and Tanaka 2007; Shimoji-Lawrence 2018). Like Veronica, many participants in this study voiced a desire to maintain dual citizenship status. However, Veronica is keenly aware that her Japanese citizenship (or in actuality, her *kokuseki*) may not be enough to ensure that she is socially accepted as Japanese by others in Japan, as there remain other contradictory social indices of identity that operate against her, such as her phenotype and her Japanese language proficiency.

For participants who feel their identities are closer to one side—either Japanese or Australian—the hypothetical decision to forfeit the comparatively more distant citizenship, and by extension any sense of identity linked to this citizenship, was evidently easier. For example, as Luke (2019) stated above, “I don’t feel like I am as Australian anymore. So, I wouldn’t be too disappointed.” This rationale can be similarly found in the results of Suzuki’s 2011 study involving participants of mixed Japanese-Indonesian heritage. In her study, one participant stated that they would forfeit their Indonesian citizenship because they do not want to be Indonesian; rather, they want to be acknowledged as Japanese through the official status of nationality (Suzuki 2011, 81).

A Strategic Alignment of Citizenship and Cultural Capital

Whilst the relationship between identity and citizenship varies for each participant, I have found an overarching commonality in their approach

towards citizenship. Mixed Japanese youth are strategically aligning their choice of citizenship with considerations of cultural capital and perceived future career outcomes. This is a trend that has surfaced in similar studies over the past decade (Hara 2018; Suzuki 2011), supporting Ong's (1999) argument that in the age of capitalism and globalisation, individuals are "fluidly and opportunistically" using their citizenship to achieve socioeconomic mobility and prestige (6).

To illustrate how mixed Japanese youth in Australia are repositioning their cultural capital within cross-cultural contexts, I will first draw upon Mike's experiences working for an Australian marketing company in Japan. Mike explains his role in helping the company expand into the Japanese consumer market:

[Whilst living in Japan] I...started off doing social media and then went off into...the actual distribution places and then started up doing...Japanese retail marketing and helping out over there [in Australia] ...'cause I have that perspective of the Japanese audience and I can relate to how they do it and stuff.
 (Mike 2019)

In the example above, Mike's cultural capital is identified as his "perspective of the Japanese audience" and knowledge of Japanese and Australian marketing practices. This qualifies as cultural capital because it is embodied cultural knowledge that derives from his own experiences living in Japan and Australia. Mike is therefore taking advantage of his cultural capital—i.e., his knowledge of Japanese and Australian consumers—to produce marketing materials that effectively communicate between Australia (the company) and Japan (the consumer).

Another example of a participant who strategically aligned their cultural capital with their future career was Jenny:

That was kind of a dream for me to do, like have a private practice for Japanese people and Japanese families...in the [Australian] community [...]. I think [Japanese-specialised healthcare] would be a bit more...not heartwarming, but a bit more *anshin*, like a bit more secure [to have] someone [look after you] who kind of understands those Japanese values.
 (Jenny 2019)

Jenny (2019) envisions a potential future career where she can apply her knowledge of the Japanese healthcare system and "Japanese values" to her own private Japanese medical practice in Australia. Jenny explained to me that through her experience working in the field, she had identified a gap in the market for medical care delivered by people who are familiar with Japanese customs and can speak Japanese. In other words, the combination of her Japanese capital and medical training is a highly valued and scarce resource. In the quote above, Jenny's choice of the word '*anshin*' (安心; 'relief', or 'peace of mind') when describing the Japanese style of service that she hopes to deliver in Australia is evidence of her Japanese capital, and emphasises her capability of fluidly moving between different cultural spaces to create culturally specific meaning within a new self-conceptualised career path.

Soma's experience working at a ski field in Japan is another example of the scarcity value of cultural capital that mixed Japanese youth hold. Soma explained to me that he secured his position at the ski field by sending a short message to the company via Facebook. The ease with which he secured the position reflects the scarcity of his capital (namely, his bilingualism), and the resulting lack of competition experienced by people with his capabilities in the industry. As shown in the quote below, Soma's cultural capital becomes further profitable in combination with his dual citizenship status:

There was like a very strong Australian working group there [at the ski fields]. [...] Most people do two...seasons. Because you can get a [Japanese] working visa for one year and [immigration] extend it for another year, and you have...people who go over there every year like business owners, and everyone there has...a sense of the Japanese culture and like a respect for it. Good thing with me is I actually have a Japanese passport as well, so I can... go as many times as I want.

(Soma 2019)

Soma's account shows how he uses his Japanese and Australian capital at the ski field to communicate effectively between Australian and Japanese co-workers and customers. The quote above importantly highlights Soma's realisation of the economic benefits of maintaining Japanese-Australian dual citizenship, as he can work in Japan without restrictions, unlike his Australian co-workers who must apply for visas. Maintaining dual citizenship status means that participants like Soma, Jenny and Mike can visualise careers that are mobile and communicate between Japan and Australia, while implementing and improving their valuable cultural capital in order to do so.

CONCLUSION

This paper arrives at an interesting and turbulent moment in Japanese history. The Japanese government is currently striving to maintain the myth of Japanese ethnic homogeneity whilst also urgently injecting necessary foreign labour into a receding Japanese economy. As a result, its legal and social systems are struggling to adapt to the circumstances of an increasing number of mixed Japanese persons, as well as Japan's new and old foreign residents. This is demonstrated by the ambiguities of Japan's Nationality Law, which—despite stipulating a 'one person, one nationality' guideline for mixed Japanese—has allowed some mixed Japanese youth in Australia to retain their dual citizenship status. Some have enjoyed benefits from doing so, by applying for tertiary education scholarships and schemes, for example, and maintaining a high level of mobility between Australia and Japan. As discussed, the participants in this study, who have enjoyed these kinds of benefits and are active in their careers or tertiary study, have strategically aligned their cultural capital to envision or realise cross-cultural careers that communicate between Japan and Australia.

When faced with the hypothetical scenario of being forced to forfeit one citizenship, some participants stated that intangible factors such as feelings of belonging, personal history, relationships and identity would play a role in

their decision-making. The scenario also led some to question the legitimacy of their claim to Japanese nationality and the purpose of the Nationality Law. Ultimately, however, most respondents perceived citizenship as little more than an official title that does not affect their sense of identity. My findings therefore indicate that mixed Japanese youth in Australia primarily equate citizenship with economic value, rather than identity value.

To the best of my knowledge, this is the first publicly available study on mixed Japanese youth in Australia and their perceptions of dual nationality. While the study is limited by the small sample size and requires a larger-scale project to confirm its findings, it nonetheless highlights similarities that mixed Japanese youth in Australia share with mixed Japanese youth in other countries. For example, the work of Hara (2018) in The Philippines and Suzuki's (2011) work in Indonesia has similarly demonstrated that mixed Japanese place significant value upon socioeconomic opportunities and future careers when deciding which nationality (if any) they will forfeit.

Conversely, my study also presents findings that differ from those found in scholarship on mixed Japanese youth outside of Japan and Australia. For mixed Japanese youth in developing countries such as The Philippines and Indonesia, Japanese citizenship implies a guaranteed higher wage, a politically and socially stable environment and higher standards of living. On the contrary, evidence from my study suggests that the consequences of forfeiting citizenship for mixed Japanese youth in Australia are more closely aligned with perceived future career opportunities. I speculate that this may be because of the current strong relationship between Asia and Australia's education sectors, which has led to an increased number of opportunities for study abroad exchange and internship programs, thereby increasing the appeal of working overseas. Further research is required to determine why youth predominantly value citizenship and/or nationality as a determinant of socioeconomic opportunity.

The majority of mixed Japanese youth I interviewed held unreliable knowledge of the Nationality Law, and felt that their citizenship status did not hold a strong connection to their identity. This contrasts with a growing argument in recent Japanese scholarship (e.g., Shimoji-Lawrence 2018; Keane 2018) which asserts that mixed Japanese youth in Japan perceive a strong connection between their nationality and multiethnic identities. This suggests that mixed Japanese youth in the Australian context may already perceive an official and/or social acceptance of their multiethnic identity which does not need to be further supported by their citizenship status. Building on my study, future research could examine how highly mobile, mixed Japanese youth in Australia (and elsewhere) interpret concepts such as 'citizenship' and 'nationality', particularly now that the global COVID-19 pandemic is reshaping the ways in which we travel, study, work and communicate across borders.

GLOSSARY

chōsen (朝鮮)

lit., the former undivided 'Korea', but a term now often associated with North Korea

hāfu (ハーフ)

a derivative of the English word ‘half’; used in Japan to refer to Japanese persons of mixed race and/or ethnicity

jus sanguinis

‘right of blood’; citizenship or nationality as determined by the nationality or ethnicity of one or both parents

jus soli

‘right of soil’; citizenship or nationality as determined by birth within the territory of a state

kokuseki (国籍)

nationality

koseki (戸籍)

Japan's family registry system (or someone's lineage as registered therein)

nihonjinron (日本人論)

lit., ‘theories about the Japanese people’; a genre of academic and popular literature which explores Japanese national and cultural identity

shimin (市民)

citizen

shiminken (市民権)

citizenship

tan’itsu minzoku (単一民族)

lit., ‘single peoples’ or ‘single ethnicity’; used by scholars to refer to the myth of Japanese ethnic homogeneity

zainichi (在日)

lit., ‘resident of Japan’; commonly used to refer to long-term Korean residents of Japan and their descendants

APPENDIX: LIST OF INTERVIEWS

Yui [pseud.]. 2019. Interview by author. Digital recording in English and e-mail interview. August 5.

Mike [pseud.]. 2019. Interview by author. Digital recording in English. July 31.

Soma [pseud.]. 2019. Interview by author. Digital recording in English. July 30.

Jenny [pseud.]. 2019. Interview by author. Digital recording in English. July 29.

Luke [pseud.]. 2019. Interview by author. Digital recording in English. June 18.

Jun [pseud.]. 2019. Interview by author. Digital recording in English. June 18.

Anastasia [pseud.]. 2019. Interview by author. Digital recording in English. June 10.

Daiichi [pseud.]. 2019. Interview by author. E-mail interview. June 6.

Veronica [pseud.]. 2019. Interview by author. E-mail interview. June 5.

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The Aesthetics of Linked-Verse Poetry in Yasunari Kawabata's 'The Lake'

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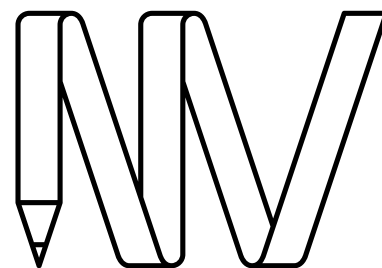
 <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1601-1105>

ABSTRACT

The distinctive narrative style exhibited in Japanese author Yasunari Kawabata's literary works has frequently been associated with the traditional Japanese art of linked-verse poetry (*renga*). However, the precise compositional nature of these similarities has yet to be thoroughly explored. In this article, I examine two fundamental principles of linked-verse poetry, 'linking' (*tsukeai*) and 'flow' (*yukiyō*), and use these as analytical tools to explore the thematic and narrative structure for which Kawabata's literary technique is renowned. Considering the first chapter of his 1954 novel *The Lake* (*Mizuumi*) as a case study, I identify notable correspondences between linked verse and Kawabata's prose writing in the form of a qualitative mode of progression characterised by a rich use of sensory and emotive association, and a wave-like sense of rhythm between moments of heightened and reduced expressive and affective intensity. This article uses detailed textual analysis to demonstrate a structural basis for comparing Kawabata's prose with linked verse, which in turn implies that Kawabata's narrative style is shaped by conscious aesthetic decisions to draw on linked-verse principles.

KEYWORDS

aesthetics; culture; linked verse; literature; poetry; *renga*; tradition; Yasunari Kawabata



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Born in Osaka in 1899, Japanese author Yasunari Kawabata (川端 康成) produced more than 35 novels, over a hundred short stories of varying lengths, and numerous works of literary criticism before his death in 1972. Kawabata is renowned for his literary style, which combines elements of traditional Japanese aesthetics with an avant-garde sensibility rooted in symbolism and the conveyance of sensation. In 1968, he became the first recipient of the Nobel Prize in Literature to write exclusively in a non-European language, and therefore holds an important position not only in the Japanese literary canon, but also in the broader canon of world literature.

Comparison between Kawabata's distinctive literary style and the mediaeval Japanese tradition of linked-verse poetry, or *renga* (連歌), are a frequent theme in discussions of his works (Hibbett 1966; Araki 1969; Liman 1971; Seidensticker 1979). This assessment is partly due to the fact that Kawabata produced the majority of his works in serial form, with each scene building on the last similar to the way in which a linked-verse sequence is composed verse by verse. However, the similarities between the two run much deeper. Themes and plot threads seldom develop towards a tidy close, but rather serve as motifs that continue to repeat and flow without resolution, like lingering echoes suggestive of deeper feelings in the vein of linked-verse poetry (Handō 2002). Scholarship to date has highlighted the influence of linked verse on Kawabata's literary style, with a focus on how the form's conventions can be seen in the motifs and narrative development of his novels. However, the precise compositional nature of these similarities has yet to be thoroughly explored. In contrast to the narrative focus of past studies, this paper explores the nature of the similarities between Kawabata's prose and linked verse from a compositional and stylistic standpoint by identifying tropes of linked-verse poetry in one of Kawabata's representative works, his 1954 novel *The Lake* (みずうみ).¹

KAWABATA'S LITERARY STYLE

Kawabata's debt to traditional literature is widely acknowledged, and symbols of traditional culture, from the tea ceremony, to geisha, to classical art and architecture, feature prominently in his works. At the same time, he is also widely viewed as a Modernist author, and the intersection between tradition and modernity is a key trend in research into his writings (Brown 1988; Starrs 1998; Nihei 2011). In his early career, Kawabata was one of the founding members of the *Shinkankaku-ha* (新感覚派) or 'New Sensationism' movement that pioneered the introduction of Western Modernist modes such as stream of consciousness, automatic writing, Dadaism, cubism, expressionism and futurism into the Japanese literary sphere (Iwamoto 1988). He employed such techniques himself in various early works, such as his 1930 novel *The Scarlet Gang of Asakusa* (浅草紅団) (Lippit 2002), his 1932 novella *Lyric Poem* (抒情歌) (Nihei 2011) and his 1934 novella *Crystal Fantasies* (水晶幻想) (Breu 2015). As if to reinforce this association with the

¹ This article is based on the 1991 Shinchō Bunko edition of the novel entitled *Mizuumi* (みずうみ). All English translations of the text are cited from the 1974 Kodansha International edition translated by Reiko Tsukimura.

Modernist movement, while his narrative technique has often been likened to linked verse, comparisons have also been made to Modernist strategies such as Joycean stream-of-consciousness (Iwata 1983), Freudian psychoanalysis (Mebed 2010), and free association (Breu 2015; Miyazaki 2019).

Nonetheless, in Kawabata's case, the seemingly opposing trends of tradition and modernity should not be regarded as mutually exclusive. Brownstein (1994) observes that there is "a basic affinity between classical Japanese aesthetics and twentieth century Modernism" (483), principally in the use of juxtaposition and symbolism. Starrs (1998) charts a course of influences from traditional Japanese aesthetics on the Western Modernist movement, resulting in various inherent parallels between the two, and argues that Kawabata's "traditionalism was a natural outgrowth of his Modernism" (126). In effect, Kawabata draws on tradition in a Modernist context, using influences such as linked verse to establish a self-conscious break with the then-prevailing literary modes of the Meiji and Taishō eras, such as Naturalism and Realism, which he regarded as failing to address the fundamental question of literary expression: the notion of sensation (Dodd 2012).

Previous examinations of Kawabata's debt to linked verse have taken a variety of approaches. Saeki (1958) and Kurokawa (2013) show how his writing style is steeped in the stylistic language of traditional poetry, drawing on shared themes, vocabulary and motifs. Ueda (1986) demonstrates that, like linked verse, Kawabata's novels are often composed of seemingly disparate episodes that rely on 'suggestiveness' (余情; *yojō*) and 'mysterious depth' (幽玄; *yūgen*) (Odin 1985, 68–74) to evoke a narrative theme and to give some clues to their resolution, but leave it to the reader to infer a meaningful ending. Riddington (1995) explores Kawabata's use of the ancient concept of *kotodama* (言霊), the belief in Japan's animist Shinto religion that ritual word usages possess mystical powers capable of influencing the mind and soul, demonstrating how he borrows from the linked-verse tradition of lexical terms with prescribed hidden allusions "to harvest the tension between sensation and meaning" (111). Starrs (1998) considers Kawabata's works as emblematic of 'anti-narrative', employing a structure highly akin to linked verse so as to allow his characters to transcend time and regain aspects of their lives that are out of reach.

The most widely noted similarity between linked verse and Kawabata's novels can be found in the way that linear plot development in Kawabata's works is subordinate to themes that are "developed and enriched by the use of image, parallel, and symbol" (Obuchowski 1977, 207). The result is a narrative progression that appears "formless, as life is formless" (Ueda 1976, 208). This implies a significant distinction from conventional conceptualisations of the novel, which place comparatively greater emphasis on the importance of causal structural unity. What is referred to here is more akin to a quality developed from the tradition of Zen Buddhism known as *zenki* (禅機), "the spontaneous naturalness of ordinary activity free of forms, flowing from the 'formless self'" (Ames 1965, 28). While seeming to embody randomness, *zenki* is in fact a heavily cultivated representation of an idealised sense of formlessness, in the manner that a Japanese garden attempts to capture

the essence of nature, and in so doing transcend it. In other words, this ‘formlessness’, which—drawing on the quality of *zenki*—may be described in terms of ‘spontaneous naturalness’, can itself be regarded as a purposefully constructed and conventionalised form. In this sense, adopting Burke’s (1968) theoretical terminology, Kawabata’s works can be said to feature a higher degree of ‘qualitative’ progression, by which the presence of one quality prepares the reader for the introduction of another, and a lesser degree of ‘syllogistic’ progression, by which a chain of events develops step-by-step according to the rules of cause and effect, than is often encountered in prose novels.

The Lake is an illustrative example of this kind of narrative progression. Originally serialised in the magazine *Shinchō* (新潮) between January and December of 1954, the novel tells the story of a beauty-obsessed aesthete, Gimpei Momoi. It focuses on Gimpei’s flight from Tokyo, spurred by the belief that he has stolen a handbag from a woman named Miyako Mizuki whom he had been following through the streets. The novel also dwells on Gimpei’s relationship with one of his former students, Hisako Tamaki. The text is indicative of the structural and stylistic elements that characterise Kawabata’s longer works and that bear striking similarities to linked verse. Not only does the novel read episodically, with its various scenes weaving in and out of one another, but it also progresses in such a manner that the presentation of prior events functions not to provide an impetus or explanation for subsequent ones, but rather to build an emotive picture of its cast of characters. In this way, the development of the plot is largely driven by the use of association, each scene transitioning to and from the previous one, and in so doing, bringing something new to the attention of both the reader and the protagonist. In order to demonstrate the manner by which this technique functions, I will first discuss several key principles of linked-verse poetry.

PRINCIPLES OF LINKED-VERSE POETRY

Linked verse is a genre of Japanese poetry that reached its height in popularity and practice between the fourteenth and nineteenth centuries. As a poetic genre, it is governed by a strict set of rules that eschew any sense of syllogistic progression beyond any single pair of immediately adjoining verses. As a result, any given linked-verse sequence will typically shift from one visual and/or emotional sentiment to another with little overall sense of causal progression, leading scholars of the medium to refer to it in terms such as a “symphony of images” (Konishi 1975, 45). The formal rules (式目; *shikimoku*) governing the structure of linked verse are extremely complex, comprising one of the most detailed sets of conventional forms in world literature (Carter 1991). However, for the purposes of this paper, a brief summary of the central principles of ‘linking’ (付け合い; *tsukeai*) and ‘flow’ (行様; *yukiyō*) will suffice.

In linked-verse poetry, each verse in a sequence is linked both to the one immediately preceding it (前句; *maeku*) and to the one immediately succeeding it (付け句; *tsukeku*), but to no other, like the succession of links in

a chain (Miner 1990, ix). The relationship between adjoining verses is complementary: each of the pair leaves something unsaid, entrusting its completion to its partner, which in turn also leaves something unsaid (Ramirez-Christensen 2008b, 103). The essential quality of linked verse can be found in the link, which exists as a gap between verses, serving as a poetic application of the aesthetic principle of ‘negative space’ (間; *ma*) and creating an interpretive vacuum for the audience or reader to engage with. In the composition of a collaborative linked-verse sequence, in which multiple authors take turns to compose individual verses, it falls to the next participant to enter into and to complete the preceding verse: their verse then acts to construct a reading or an interpretation of the preceding verse (Ramirez-Christensen 2008a, 40). For the reader or listener, the two independent yet interrelated verses create an invitation to interpretation, and the contrast between them creates a sense of ‘mysterious depth’ (幽玄) that would not exist if they were read separately (Odin 1985, 68–74).

The early authority on linked-verse poetry, Nijō Yoshimoto (二条 良基) [1320–1388], identifies thirteen techniques of linking (Ueda 1967, 37–54). Each of these techniques are to varying extents syllogistic and qualitative, either building upon the previous verse to further develop a sensation, image or suggestion, or changing course in an unanticipated direction through the use of wit, juxtaposition or allusion. Links that lean more towards the techniques of the former are described as ‘close’ (親句; *shinku*), while those that rely more on the latter are described as ‘distant’ (疎句; *soku*) (Ramirez-Christensen 2008b, 96). While these two concepts function as a spectrum rather than as a strict dichotomy, contemporary scholars typically describe links in terms of four ranges of closeness: ‘close’, ‘close–distant’, ‘distant–close’ and ‘distant’ (Miner 1979, 72). While one verse may relate to its predecessor syllogistically, in order to avoid a ‘clashing’ sense of rhythm (嫌い; *kirai*), it must not be similarly relatable to the verse preceding its predecessor (前々句; *maemaeku*) (Ramirez-Christensen 2008a, 186). For this reason, while short-term syllogistic continuity is permissible within a pair of verses, the overall sense of flow in a sequence from beginning to end must be qualitative.

This sense of flow is maintained through a variety of forms. Chiefly, these are: an alternating arrangement of ‘pattern’ (紋; *mon*) and ‘background’ (地; *ji*) verses; rules for seriation and intermission (去り嫌い; *sarikirai*), which regulate the frequency of the appearance and reappearance of similar elements; and a modulation pattern of ‘prelude-allegro-presto’ (序破急; *johakyū*) (Konishi 1975, 50). In the first form, the relationship between pattern and background verses mirrors the relationship between patterns and backgrounds in visual media. Pattern verses present striking and vivid images or sensations that command the attention, while background verses contain comparatively plain, unremarkable images or sensations so as to provide the pattern verses with space to produce the desired effect (Miner 1979, 73). As with the case of close and distant links, this alternation between pattern and background verses is best conceived as a spectrum, although contemporary scholars often divide it into four ranges of impressiveness: ‘background’, ‘background–pattern’, ‘pattern–background’ and ‘pattern’ (Miner 1979, 72).

The second form, comprised of the seriation and intermission of related images and phenomena, is governed by a more complex set of rules. The general principles behind seriation and intermission are that verses featuring similar or related thematic or lexical components must be separated from each other so as not to dilute their effect, and that themes must continue for a certain number of verses, often capped by a maximum, and sometimes a minimum number (Konishi 1975, 43). These restrictions are based on thematic and lexical categories derived from the classical tradition of *waka* (和歌) poetry anthologies (Ramirez-Christensen 2008a, 12), and apply not only to the categories themselves, but also to words commonly associated with them, to other homophonous terms, and to terms that may be associated with homophonous terms. Thematic categories include topics such as Spring, Autumn, Love, Travel, Laments and Miscellaneous. Lexical categories include iconic elements that are considered to cluster naturally together, such as Sky Phenomena, Falling Things, Flora, Mountains, Waters and Dwellings (Konishi 1975; Carter 1991). These rules in effect produce a sense of continuous motion, in which the sequence may dwell only momentarily on one theme before moving to another. This wave-like sense of progression is similarly maintained in the distribution of close and distant links, and in that of background and pattern verses.

The third form is the modulation pattern of prelude-allegros-presto. This pattern is not unique to linked-verse poetry but features in a wide variety of Japanese arts, perhaps most famously in the Noh tradition of theatre. In general terms, the prelude should have a slow beginning with a graceful, restrained tone; the allegros should develop the narrative with a brisk sense of forward movement and strive for heightened interest, generally with an increased focus on human affairs; while the presto should develop yet faster with a sense of striking imagery before returning to a smooth progression and a simple conclusion (Konishi 1975, 50). The effect of this pattern is to create a gradual build-up of tension followed by release, imparting the sequence with a performative energy representative of the Zen Buddhism aesthetic conceptualisation of life as symbolic animation (Ramirez-Christensen 2008a, 61).

In order to demonstrate the shaping of flow in linked verse in terms of the above principles, I will first consider an exemplary sequence, the *One-Hundred Verses by Three Poets at Minase* (水無瀬三吟百韻) composed by the poets Sōgi (宗祇) [1421–1502], Shōhaku (肖柏) [1443–1527] and Sōchō (宗長) [1448–1532].² The forms mentioned above can be observed in the first fifteen verses of the sequence:

- | | |
|------------------|---|
| 1. 雪ながら山本かすむ夕べかな | while snows yet remain
hazy round the mountain base
grows the evening |
| 2. 行く水とほく梅にほふさと | distantly the water glides
by the plum-scented village |

² English rendition cited from Kenneth Yasuda's 1956 translation.

- | | |
|---------------------|---|
| 3. 川風に一むら柳春見えて | in the willow-grove
before the river-breezes
spring is visible |
| 4. 舟さす音もしるきあけがた | there the poling of the boat
sounds distinctly in the dawn |
| 5. 月や猶霧わたる夜に残るらん | does the moon still hang
lingering as in the night
when mists were lacing? |
| 6. 霜おく野はら秋は暮れけり | over the frost-set meadows
autumn is about to close |
| 7. なく蟲の心ともなく草かれて | withered now, the grass
shares no more the joyous heart
of insects singing |
| 8. かきねをとへばあらはなるみち | at the trimmed hedge I called
the road runs bare and open |
| 9. 山ふかき里やあらしに送るらん | in those deep mountains
is the village still untouched
by the stormy wind? |
| 10. なれぬすまひぞさびしさもうき | in an unfamiliar dwelling
loneliness grows sadder still |
| 11. 今更にひとり有る身をおもふなよ | more than ever now
do not even dream a dream
that you are alone |
| 12. うつろはんとはかねてしらずや | should we not know
beforehand whatever blooms
always fades? |
| 13. 置きわぶる露こそ花に哀れなれ | the dew that rises
forlornly on the flowers
is deeply touching |
| 14. まだ残る日のうち霞むかげ | in the twilight's balmy haze
still the sun is lingering |
| 15. 暮れぬとや鳴きつゝ鳥の歸るらん | do the calling birds
cry the coming on of night
as they homeward fly?
(Yasuda 1956, 39–43) |

In a hundred-verse sequence (百韻; *hyakuin*) such as this, the prelude encompasses the first eight verses, the allegros verses nine through to ninety-two, and the presto the final eight verses (Miner 1979, 64).³ As such, in the above sequence, the thematic progression begins in Spring (1–3), moves through a single Miscellaneous verse (4) into Autumn (5–7), before moving again into a pair of Miscellaneous verses (8–9) that punctuate the prelude and lead into the allegros, emerging in Laments (10–12), and returning to Spring (13–15) (Ramirez-Christensen 2008a, 16). Verses 1–3 describe the vibrancy of spring, while verses 5–7 the somberness of autumn, which is then capped by the bare path of verse 8. Through the shift from spring to autumn, the prelude comes to an end, and the allegros marks its beginning with an emphasis on human affairs. While the previous verses focus on scenery, the temporal and thematic movement lending a sense of travel, verses 8, 11 and 12 are of a more personal nature, ostensibly reflecting a dialogue in a village deep in the mountains where the speaker of verse 8 has arrived. In verse 13, a symbol compresses the sentiment of verse 12 into a concrete image and the sequence returns thematically to spring, but carries with it the overtone of evanescence generated in the previous verses. In regard to thematic structure, there can be seen in this excerpt an elliptical pattern of zooming in and zooming out, or more generally, of an alternation between greater and lesser degrees of emotional intensity, reflecting the rules around thematic seriation and intermission discussed earlier.

We can observe a similar alternation between the distribution of background and pattern verses, the arrangement of which Miner (1979, 184–89) identifies as pattern (1–2), pattern–background (3), background–pattern (4–5), background (6), pattern (7), pattern–background (8), background (9–12), pattern (13–14) and background (15). The impressive imagery of verses 1 and 2 gradually shifts into the quietness of verse 6, before rising suddenly with the crying of the insects in verse 7, and beginning to subside again by verse 8. Verses 9 through to 12 are comparatively plain, moving away from description in verses 10 through to 12, while verses 13 and 14 again present striking springtime imagery, then with verse 15 the tone again subsides as the birds return to their roosts. Just as there is a basic elliptical pattern in the sequence’s thematic structure, so too is there a constant interweaving of expressive pattern verses set off against less striking background verses.

As is the case with the sequence’s shifts in thematic matter and degrees of intensity, the arrangement of close and distant links is again generally one of asymmetrical alternation. Nonetheless, in this section of the sequence there is a greater proportion of more closely related links, with a particularly notable frequency of close–distant links. Miner (1979, 184–89) views the shifts in the manner of linking as follows: close (1–2 and 2–3), distant–close (3–4), close–distant (4–5, 5–6, 6–7, 7–8, 8–9, 9–10, 10–11), close (11–12), close–distant (12–13, 13–14, 14–15). The preponderance of close and close–distant links in this section of the sequence has the effect of rendering the overall poem with a gentle sense of fluidity. As this excerpt comprises the prelude and the beginning of the allegros, it proceeds with restrained prosody and unchallenging caesurae, enticing the reader or listener to drift along with

³ Hundred-verse sequences were the standard length of classical linked-verse compositions. The formal rules of the genre relate primarily to this format.

the succession of imagery, which gradually becomes more involved as the sequence develops. While more distant links occur later in the sequence as the allegros develops further, the oscillating pattern discussed above can nonetheless be observed in the distance between links in this early section: while the links here lean towards closeness rather than distance, the pattern holds in the elliptical cycle between their levels of closeness. The first link is among the closest, followed by one that is comparatively more distant, followed by a chain that is then comparatively closer, then closer still, then more distant. As the sequence continues, with the allegros coming into shape and the flow building up speed, there is an increasing frequency of techniques such as synaesthesia and wordplay, and thus the pattern shifts towards a greater focus on distant links.

LINKING AND FLOW IN *THE LAKE*

In linked verse, links manifest structurally in the space between verses, and the overall flow of a poem in this style is determined by the nature of each individual verse as it continues from one to the next. A novel, however, is not comprised of such strict and discrete units. As such, it is not the conventional forms of linked verse that are of interest in this analysis, but rather the essential character, functions and effects of those forms. Thus, whereas a linked-verse sequence will feature numerous runs of three to five verses, each pertaining to a particular thematic category, in a novel, we might expect to find a comparable pattern in the relatively discrete scenes and subplots that occur throughout the narrative. Whereas the flow of a linked-verse sequence will entail shifts from one thematic category to another and back again in a wave-like progression, in a novel, we might look for similar usage in the presentation of events and imagery irrespective of their syllogistic continuity.

Indeed, this is the very kind of progression that we find in *The Lake*. The novel is divided into four unnumbered chapters, each involving a significant temporal shift. The first chapter is framed around the character of Gimpei Momoi; the second is framed around Miyako Mizuki; while the third and fourth return to Gimpei. While there is a degree of syllogistic progression between these chapters, primarily in the framing narratives of the third and fourth, this is secondary to their qualitative elements. There are few indications as to the syllogistic arrangement of the chapters, and it is chiefly through taking note of various seasonal phenomena that the reader becomes aware of the likelihood that they are presented in a non-linear fashion: the third chapter takes place in midspring, the fourth follows immediately afterwards in midsummer, the first takes place at the end of summer, and the second takes place at roughly the same time as the first. This echoes the treatment of thematic tropes in linked verse, where related imagery and topics alternate non-sequentially. On top of this, each of these chapters contains numerous subplots that weave in and out of not only their respective framing narratives, but also through the chapters themselves. The interwoven subplots can be seen to reflect the linked-verse characteristic of seriation and intermission, as the narrative constantly moves away from one, explores another, and later returns.

Due to the nonlinear nature of the text, we must consider its plot at the narratological levels of ‘story’ and ‘discourse’, ‘story’ referring to a sequence of events independent of their presentation, and ‘discourse’ referring to the presentation of events independent of their sequence (following Culler 1981).⁴ In addition to this, it is useful to consider distinct scenes demarcated by changes in characters, location, setting or theme. In the first chapter alone, we find no fewer than eleven scenes constituting four distinct yet interrelated stories woven together into a single integrated discourse. The novel opens with Gimpei’s arrival at the town of Karuizawa, whereupon he wanders towards a Turkish bathhouse. In a start of involuntary memory brought on by his own imaginings, he recalls the incident that prompted him to flee to this mountain town. A woman, Miyako, whom he had been following through the streets of Tokyo, becomes alarmed, hurls her handbag at him and takes flight. Gimpei too, uncertain as to whether or not she has reported the incident to the police, makes his escape. Back in the bathhouse, Gimpei goes on to recall the first woman whom he had ever followed: a former student of his, Hisako Tamaki. While reminiscing on his relationship with Hisako, he recalls an episode from his childhood, a time when he had lived by the lake of his mother’s home village with his older cousin Yayoi. Finally, the narrative returns to the bathhouse, and this first chapter comes to a close. If we divide the chapter into discrete scenes pertaining to each of these stories, the overall discourse can be illustrated as follows:

1. Gimpei arrives at Karuizawa (Kawabata 1974, 5–6).
2. Gimpei arrives at the Turkish bathhouse (6–16).
3. Gimpei recalls the handbag incident (16–18).
4. The narration returns briefly to the bathhouse (18).
5. Gimpei destroys the handbag and its contents (18–22).
6. Gimpei recalls Hisako (22–24).
7. After following Hisako, Gimpei flees to an amusement district (24–26).
8. Gimpei recalls his childhood with Yayoi (26–28).
9. The narration returns briefly to the amusement district (28).
10. Gimpei’s relationship with Hisako develops (28–33).
11. The bathhouse service ends, and Gimpei dwells on his relationships with Hisako and Yayoi (34–42).

The first story encompasses scenes 1, 2, 4 and 11; the second encompasses scenes 3 and 5; the third encompasses scenes 6, 7, 9 and 10; and the fourth encompasses scene 8. These scenes weave in and out of their respective framing narratives, the first story framing the second and the third, and the third framing the fourth. Just as the progression of a linked-verse sequence is characterised by a wave-like “going forth and coming back, but never to the same place” (Ramirez-Christensen 2008a, 16), the progression of *The Lake* too leans towards ellipticity, exhibiting a general structure in which wider narrative threads frame smaller digressionary sub-narratives.

While I have described this chapter as four interrelated stories, one may be tempted to view it as a single overarching story given that each scene revolves around the same protagonist and constitutes part of the greater sequence of events that have led to Gimpei’s present situation. However, the connections

⁴ Other terms used to indicate this dichotomy, originating in the Russian Formalism tradition of distinguishing between ‘*fabula*’ and ‘*syuzhet*’, include ‘*histoire*’ and ‘*récit*’ (Genette 1972) and ‘story’ and ‘plot’ (Bordwell 1985).

between these scenes in terms of both story and discourse are so tenuous, so filled with negative space, that the sense of continuity between them is driven by mental association (both that of Gimpei, and in turn, that of the reader) rather than by temporal causation. For this reason, the overall sense of forward movement during this chapter is achieved less through the use of syllogistic progression, as we might expect in a single story, and more by the repetition of theme and image through qualitative progression.

Nonetheless, there remains a sense of syllogistic progression within individual stories themselves. The framing narrative, for instance, begins with Gimpei's arrival at the Turkish bathhouse, follows him through the bathing service, and ends with his departure. His recollection of the handbag incident likewise adheres to a generally syllogistic pattern, though it is given to a degree of reminiscent ellipticity. The story begins with Gimpei being hit in the face with her handbag, follows his thoughts as he recalls the lead-up to the encounter, and ends with him destroying the bag and its contents. Gimpei's remembrance of Hisako follows a similar structure, beginning with Gimpei shadowing her to her home one day, continuing with him fleeing to a nearby amusement quarter, and ending with the two of them having a discussion outside her house. Finally, the brief story involving Gimpei's cousin Yayoi again follows a like pattern. It begins with Gimpei tricking her into walking on the frozen lake in the hope that the ice would break and cause her to sink into the water, then shifts into an exploration of Gimpei's past and the reason for his living with his cousin's family, and ends with Yayoi fading out of Gimpei's life and marrying a naval officer. The internal logic of each of these four stories proceeds syllogistically; however, in their relationships with one another they proceed qualitatively as part of the overall discourse. For this reason, we might liken them to the individual thematic runs in a linked-verse sequence, where the phenomena employed in each run must feature according to its temporal chronology. In linked verse, this is exemplified in the way that a seasonal word ascribed to an earlier part of a season is prohibited from occurring after another seasonal word ascribed to a later part of the same season (Higginson 2005). This convention is mirrored in the interplay between each of the four stories that comprise and punctuate the overall discourse of the first chapter, proceeding sequentially according to their natural development.

A sense of movement akin to the modulation pattern of prelude-allegro-presto can be seen in the development of the above discourse. Just as the prelude in a linked-verse sequence should have a slow beginning with a graceful, restrained tone, so too do scenes 1 and 2 progress slowly over the course of around a dozen pages without yet revealing the dark side of Gimpei's nature. In the same way that the allegros in a linked-verse sequence should develop the narrative with a brisk sense of forward movement, scene 3 onwards increases the pace of the narrative, with individual scenes lasting roughly two to four pages each and beginning to delve into Gimpei's disturbing actions and thoughts. In the same way as the presto should develop yet faster still, with a crescendo of striking imagery before returning to a smooth progression and a simple conclusion, the intensity of qualitative progression in this chapter of *The Lake* climaxes with scenes 8 and 9, nested within the

story of scenes 6, 7 and 10, which is itself nested within the overall framing story of scenes 1, 2, 4 and 11. The pacing following this climax returns to a smooth, slower sense of movement over the course of several pages in scene 11 before concluding the chapter. The effects of this modulation pattern can likewise be seen in the distance of the links connecting the various scenes, with those occurring in the prelude being comparatively closer and those occurring later being more distant, as I shall demonstrate shortly.

While sharing the modulation pattern of prelude-allegros-presto with linked-verse poetry, both overall and in terms of its constituent parts, *The Lake* suggests also a related pattern, that of ‘introduction-development-transition-reintegration’ (起承転結; *kishōtenketsu*).⁵ In contemporary Japanese compositional theory, the two patterns operate in tandem with one another, the former describing tempo and intensity, the latter describing content. Whereas the prelude-allegros-presto mode of progression is independent of the specific meaning of the verses or narrative, governing rather the overall sense of rhythm, the introduction-development-transition-reintegration paradigm describes how the various constituent actions and events are related to each other and to the overall discourse. In linked verse, the structural pattern of introduction-development-transition-reintegration is fundamentally associative in nature, being predicated around the notion of a qualitative transition away from a topic before ultimately returning back to it, with forward momentum being intuitive, sensory or emotive in manner. In brief, the introduction establishes the basics of the story, which are elaborated in the development, until a new, unexpected element is introduced in the transition, which is in turn reconciled with the first two parts in the reintegration to produce a coherent whole (Hinds 1980, 132). Reading through the lens of this paradigm sheds light on further similarities between *The Lake* and linked verse, this time in the area of narrative development.

Just as a linked-verse sequence features an abundance of links, so too can a novel be marked by a proliferation of developments and transitions that encompass the majority of the exposition (Hinds 1987, 150). As such, a narrative demonstrating the principle of introduction-development-transition-reintegration might take one or more seemingly incongruous digressions before eventually bringing something new back to its point of origin. This is the case in *The Lake*, as can be seen in the arrangement of the various subsections of the first chapter identified above. The introduction encompasses Gimpei’s arrival to Karuizawa (scene 1); the development encompasses the early stages of the bathing service at the Turkish bathhouse, including his discussion with the attendant (scene 2). The transition, or rather, transitions, encompass the digressions that explore his relationships with Miyako, Hisako and Yayoi (scene 3–10). The reintegration encompasses the end of the bathing service, with the reader now having achieved a deeper understanding of Gimpei’s warped nature (scene 11). This pattern can be observed over the chapter as a whole, and can likewise be seen in the manner in which the various stories and digressions are linked to one another. Scene 4 reintegrates scene 3 with scenes 1–2; scene 9 reintegrates scene 8 with

⁵ The ‘introduction-development-transition-reintegration’ pattern originates in the seven-syllable quatrain form (七言絶句; *shichigon-zekku*) of classical Japanese poetry written in Chinese (漢詩; *kanshi*).

scenes 6–7; and a sense of parallelism is established between the encounter with Miyako (scenes 3 and 5) and Gimpei’s prior relationship with Hisako (scenes 6–7 and 10).

Let us consider more closely the first link or transition, occurring between scenes 2 and 3 and connecting the framing narrative at the bathhouse to Gimpei’s recollection of the handbag incident:

The girl didn’t seem particularly interested in knowing about Gimpei’s hometown, and was not listening with any special attention. How was the bathroom lit? There seemed to be no shadows on her body. While massaging his chest, she pushed her breasts forward, and he closed his eyes, not knowing where to put his hands. If he stretched his arms along his body he might touch her. He thought he would be slapped on the face if so much as a fingertip brushed against her. And he could actually feel the shock of being slapped. In sudden terror he tried to open his eyes, but his eyelids refused to move. They had been hit very hard. He thought he might cry, but no tears came, and his eyes ached as though they had been pricked with a hot needle.

It was not the girl’s palm but a blue leather handbag that had hit Gimpei’s face. He hadn’t known at the time that it was a handbag, but after feeling the blow he found a handbag lying at his feet.⁶

(Kawabata 1974, 16)

Here, the link between what I have identified as the first and second stories begins in the latter half of the first paragraph, taking full form in the negative space between the development and transition phases in the paragraph break. While in the first paragraph Gimpei physically experiences the sensation of being slapped on the face, seemingly in response to an imagined attempt to touch the bathhouse attendant, this sensation is then re-evaluated by the following paragraph, which creates a new interpretation of what precedes it wherein it is Miyako’s handbag that has hit him. The transition here operates in the same manner as the link in linked verse, prompting the reader to reconsider the description that precedes it and providing an additional reading. As the link here occurs after a gradual development that prompts the transition, following on smoothly from that which comes before, it can be described in linked-verse terminology as being ‘close’ in nature. Moreover, the first paragraph features a gradual build-up in expressiveness, culminating in a tactile and emotional response, and so is akin to a pattern verse in a linked-verse sequence, while in the second paragraph this degree of expressiveness subsides, providing space and contextualisation akin to a background verse. As in a linked-verse sequence, this alternation contributes to a wave-like sense of progression and sensory intensity throughout the chapter.

The next link, between the second and third stories shortly afterwards, is of a like manner:

6 「湯女は銀平の古里など知りたいわけではなかろうし、心にとめて聞いている風はなかった。この浴室の照明はどうなっているのか、湯女のからだに陰がないようだった。湯女は銀平の胸をさすりながら自分の胸を傾けて来ていた。銀平は目をつぶった。手のやり場に迷った。腹の脇にのぼしたら湯女の脇腹にさわりはしないか。ほんの指先でも触れようものなら、びしゃりと顔をなぐられそうに思えた。そして銀平は真実なぐられたショックを感じた。はっとおびえて目をあこうとしたが、まぶたは開かなかった。したたかまぶたを打たれていた。涙が出そうなのが出ないで、目の玉を熱い針で刺されたようにいたんだ。銀平の顔をなぐったのは、湯女の手のみではなく、青い革のハンド・バッグだった。なぐられた時にハンド・バッグとわかってはいたわけではないが、なぐられた後で足もとにハンド・バッグの落ちているのを見たわけだった。」(Kawabata 1991, 15–16)

Miyako must certainly have been frightened while she was being followed by Gimpei, but she might also have experienced a tingling pleasure, without recognising its presence. Can an entirely one-sided pleasure really exist in the human world? Had it not, perhaps, been like a drug addict's sensing out a fellow sufferer, that he should have made a special point of following Miyako when there were so many other pretty women walking around town?

Hisako Tamaki, the first woman he had ever followed, had clearly been a case of this sort.⁷

(Kawabata 1974, 21–22)

Here, we can observe once again a gradual development that prompts the transition into the third story. The transition again takes place in the negative space between paragraphs, indicating a shift in scene and time-orientation. The first paragraph features a build-up of rhetorical questions on whether Miyako had perhaps found some perverse enjoyment in being followed by Gimpei, and the second paragraph features a change in focus to Hisako while at the same time tying into the previous rhetorical questions. The link here is of a close variety as with the previous case, for there is a smooth lead-in with the rhetorical questions that are then answered in the affirmative for Hisako. Once more, the degree of emotional expressiveness builds up in the first paragraph in the manner of pattern description, while the second paragraph is more akin to background description, responding to the prior scene and providing context for the next. In this manner, the link between these paragraphs simultaneously functions as both the transition from the second story, and as the introduction anticipating the development of the third story.

In contrast, the link between scenes 10 and 11, reintegrating the story surrounding Gimpei's student Hisako back into the present moment at the bathhouse, is more distant:

But she did not remain long the shy, lovely Hisako she had first been. Instead her relationship with Gimpei developed to the point where Onda reported him and he was eventually dismissed from the school.

While the bath attendant massaged his belly at the Turkish bath in Karuizawa, Gimpei, after all these years, could still imagine Hisako's father lounging in a deep armchair in his grand western-style home and peeling skin off his infected feet.⁸

(Kawabata 1974, 33–34)

While the previous links occur between the development and transition stages, this one occurs between the transition and reintegration stages of the first and third stories. The narration of Gimpei's pursuit of Hisako has run its course and ends with its exposure, following which there is an immediate shift in the negative space leading into the following paragraph, which returns to the first story at the bathhouse. Other than the fact that the story

7 「銀平が後をつけているあいだ、宮子はおびえていたにちがいないが、自身ではそうと気がつかなくても、うずくようなよろこびもあったのかもしれない。能動者があって受動者のない快楽は人間にあるだろうか。美しい女は町に多く歩いているのに、銀平が特に宮子を選んだ後をつけたのは、麻薬の中毒者が同病者を見つけたようなものだろうか。」(Kawabata 1991, 20)

8 「しかし可愛い久子ではとどまらないで、銀平とのあいだを恩田信子に告発されて、銀平が学校を追われるところまでいった。それから年月をへだてた今、銀平は軽井沢のトルコ風呂で湯女に腹をマッサージされながらも、あの宏壮な洋館の豪華な安楽椅子で、久子の父が水虫の皮をむいている姿を思い浮かべた。」(Kawabata 1991, 31)

appears to have reached its chronological end, there is no prior suggestion that we are about to undergo a shift, and so the link here is more distant than the previous cases. As the narrative of the chapter is by this stage well underway, entering into an equivalent of the allegros stage, the frequency of more distant links can be expected to increase, as occurs in a linked-verse sequence. Moreover, as the link here occurs between the transition and reintegration stages, such close links as we have observed in the previous examples are arguably unnecessary. As the link in this example connects back to an already established story, the reader can reorient themselves in the discourse more easily than if the narrative had jumped abruptly to an entirely new story.

This manner of distant link is perhaps best demonstrated by looking at an instance of a comparatively shorter transition taking place during Gimpei's time at the bathhouse:

There was a splashing sound as the girl, apparently needing something to do while her customer was in the steam bath, baled water out of the perfumed bath and washed the floor.

To Gimpei, it sounded like waves beating against a rock. On the rock two seagulls with arched wings were pecking at each other's beaks. The sea of his native village appeared before his eyes.

"How many minutes now?"

"About seven."⁹

(Kawabata 1974, 10–11)

I have not indicated the scene in question here in my earlier breakdown of the various stories that comprise this chapter of the text, primarily as it lacks any sense of interior syllogistic progression, taking the form of a purely visual and emotive image. Nonetheless, we can see two distinct links. While the transition from the bathhouse to Gimpei's hometown is sudden and unexpected, it is not entirely unprecipitated, being prompted by the simile of the sound of waves beating against a rock, and may be classified as functioning similarly to a distant–close verse in a linked-verse sequence. The link from the memory of Gimpei's hometown back to the bathhouse, however, is not foreshadowed, and can therefore be described as distant. The function of this brief transition followed by its reintegration is threefold: it denotes the passage of time, it introduces elements from the fourth story regarding Gimpei's childhood (and by extension, his time with Yayoi), and it brings about despondence in Gimpei. As this is a striking image that commands the reader's attention, it functions akin to a pattern verse contrasting against the preceding and following descriptions. It is a particularly brief transition, with the reintegration returning to the bathhouse in the very next paragraph. As this example demonstrates, throughout *The Lake*, transitions are not only the means by which the more extensive narrative digressions that comprise

9 「湯女は客が蒸し風呂にはいつているあいだ手持無沙汰らしく、香水風呂の湯を汲み出して、流し場などを洗う水音が聞こえた。銀平には岩を打つ波のように思えた。岩の上で二羽のかもめがつばさを怒らせ、くちばで突つき合っていた。古里の海が頭に浮かんだ。

『もう何分?』

『七分ほどもです。』(Kawabata 1991, 10–11)

the various stories are woven into the discourse, but also the means by which various shorter images and sensory perceptions throughout each of these stories are woven into their own framing narrative.

The structural pattern of introduction-development-transition-reintegration is evident in each of the above examples. With each of the various extended transitions, the narrative continues into a new stage of development in a similar manner to the thematic runs in a linked-verse sequence. The numerous shorter transitions punctuate prolonged threads of a single story, similar to the way in which single miscellaneous verses occasionally punctuate longer runs in a linked-verse sequence. In this sense, such transitions serve a qualitative function: they prepare us for later scenes and narrative threads, as well as changes in the protagonist's mental and emotional state. Though not necessarily in a syllogistic manner that would affect the events that are depicted in the narrative, the reintegration reconciles the various parts of the narrative into a coherent whole. Thus, the reader learns that Gimpei has fled to Karuizawa after the handbag incident, that Gimpei has a history of becoming obsessed by and subsequently following beautiful women, and that, behind his cautious behaviour and his softly spoken manner, he has throughout his life harboured dark thoughts about beauty and ugliness disguised even to himself.

Just as a linked-verse sequence is characterised by a wave-like progression between themes, degrees of closeness and distance, and background and pattern verses, so too do narrative links in *The Lake* impart a similar elliptical progression by following the introduction-development-transition-reintegration paradigm. The overall effect of this is to produce a narrative that is less plot-focused, less driven by one event leading into the next, and more of a thematic journey that illustrates Gimpei as an individual, highlighting episodes from his life that demonstrate his way of thinking and how he situates himself in the world. The depth and manner of qualitative association in the narrative composition of *The Lake* implies a developed and conscious aesthetic decision by Kawabata to incorporate linked-verse principles in the work, and lends further support to the position that he draws on traditional arts to nurture his focus on the notion of sensation.

CONCLUSION

In the previous pages, I have analysed some similar structural aspects of the techniques of linking and flow in both linked-verse poetry and Kawabata's novel *The Lake*. In both of these mediums, the overall flow is punctuated by numerous instances of negative space that separate and draw together seemingly disparate verses, trains of thought and scenes, and that require both reader and narrative persona to make mental associations between the various elements presented. In this sense, both mediums develop along a primarily qualitative rather than syllogistic pattern of progression, with forward poetic and narrative momentum being driven not by causation of related actions or events, but rather by the sudden presentation of sense, emotion, image and memory. Moreover, in the form of qualitative association observed in both

linked verse and *The Lake*, we can identify elliptical patterns of progression that are characterised by frequent shifts in distance, focus, and visual and emotional intensity, a “going forth and coming back, but never to the same place” (Ramirez-Christensen 2008a, 16), that provides an overall sense of flow and cohesiveness. Adopting and adapting the theoretical framework of linked verse in this way allows us to examine the stylistic and structural composition of Kawabata’s works with greater clarity, and provides groundwork for deeper stylistic analysis of his works.

While much more could be said about the parallels between linked verse and Kawabata’s narrative mode than can be fully explored in this paper, I hope to have demonstrated that there is a deep stylistic and structural basis for comparing the two. Indeed, Kawabata’s narrative mode, as exemplified by *The Lake*, implies a conscious aesthetic decision to draw on the grounding principles of linked verse in the creation of his prose works, adapting and developing the techniques of linking and of flow to shape his distinctive narrative style. Future studies on this topic may consider parallels between additional principles of linked-verse poetry, and may examine in greater depth how the techniques of linking and of flow are employed in a wider selection of Kawabata’s works.

GLOSSARY

hyakuin (百韻)

‘hundred-verse sequence’; the standard length of classical linked-verse compositions

ji (地)

‘background’; used to describe verses that contain comparatively plain, unremarkable images or sensations in linked-verse poetry

johakyū (序破急)

a modulation pattern of ‘prelude-allegro-presto’, which creates a gradual build-up of tension followed by release; features in a wide variety of Japanese arts, perhaps most famously in the Noh tradition of theatre

kanshi (漢詩)

Chinese-language poetry, as used in Japanese literature

kirai (嫌々)

a clashing sense of rhythm in linked-verse poetry

kishōtenketsu (起承転結)

a modulation pattern of ‘introduction-development-transition-reintegration’ which originated in classical Chinese-language poetry and can be found in classical Japanese poetry and other Japanese aesthetic forms

kotodama (言霊)

the belief in Japan’s animist Shinto religion that ritual word usages possess mystical powers capable of influencing the mind and soul

ma (間)
negative space

maeku (前句)
‘the preceding verse’; a term used to discuss linked-verse poetry

maemaeku (前々句)
‘the verse before the preceding verse’; a term used to discuss linked-verse poetry

mon (紋)
‘pattern’; used to describe verses that present striking and vivid images or sensations in linked-verse poetry

renga (連歌)
the mediaeval Japanese tradition of linked-verse poetry

sarikirai (去り嫌い)
seriation and intermission in Japanese linked-verse poetry; the appearance and reappearance of similar elements in linked verse

shichigon-zekku (七言絶句)
Chinese-language seven-syllable quatrains, as used in classical Japanese poetry

shikimoku (式目)
the formal rules or conventions governing the structure of an art form such as linked verse

Shinkankaku-ha (新感覚派)
the ‘New Sensationism’ movement, whose founding members included Kawabata; exponents of this movement pioneered the introduction of Western Modernist modes such as stream of consciousness, automatic writing, Dadaism, cubism, expressionism and futurism into the Japanese literary sphere

shinku (親句)
a verse with ‘close’ links to another verse in linked-verse poetry

soku (疎句)
a verse with ‘distant’ links to another verse in linked-verse poetry

tsukeai (付け合い)
‘linking’; a term used to discuss linked-verse poetry

tsukeku (付け句)
‘the following verse’; a term used to discuss linked-verse poetry

waka (和歌)
a form of classical Japanese poetry

yojō (余情)
suggestiveness

yūgen (幽玄)
a sense of mysterious depth

yukiyō (行様)

‘flow’; one of the central aesthetic principles of linked-verse poetry

zenki (禅機)

a quality developed from the tradition of Zen Buddhism; can be understood as “the spontaneous naturalness of ordinary activity free of forms, flowing from the ‘formless self’” (Ames 1965, 28)

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The Past is With Us and Yet to Come: A Hauntological Analysis of Tsutomu Mizushima's Anime Series, 'Another'

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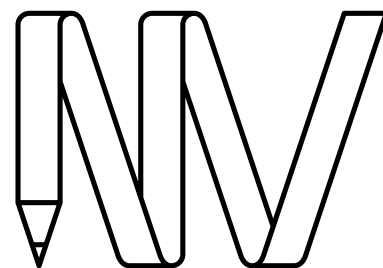
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ABSTRACT

Japanese director Tsutomu Mizushima's 2012 animated television series, *Another*, presents a narrative whereby one social group's refusal to accept an unexpected death triggers an intergenerational curse. This paper takes a close reading of Mizushima's anime, showing how its narrative contends that the present—and by default the future—is not self-sufficient but instead relies upon understandings of the past. The analysis uses the lens of Jacques Derrida's theory of hauntology, which opens up a space for discursive accounts of the presence of the past in the present and its influence on the future, and therefore serves as a powerful tool for interrogating questions of war memory. I demonstrate that *Another* exemplifies the use of anime as a critical medium, showing how it uses allegory to explore the motivations and consequences of Japan's lack of a dominant historical narrative about the war and the resulting intergenerational effects of this historical consciousness problem. As Japan continues to debate remilitarisation and the fate of Article 9 in its constitution, it seems particularly apt to revisit Mizushima's *Another*, which illustrates the dangers of ignoring the spectre of history.

KEYWORDS

3.11; anime; atomic victimhood; Derrida; hauntology; history; narrative; post-war; World War II



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Japanese director Tsutomu Mizushima [水島 努]’s 2012 animated television series *Another* [アナザー] exemplifies the use of anime to convey a critical vision of society. In this paper, I draw on this approach to Japanese anime to read *Another* as a critique of Japan’s nuclear experience during World War II and its resulting historical consciousness problem. Jacques Derrida’s theory of hauntology, outlined in *Specters of Marx* [1993], theorises the dangers of ignoring the past. By viewing *Another* through this lens, it will be shown that *Another* presents a strong allegory for the effects of the ideological violence that is wrought by cultures when conflicting memories of a troubled past vie for legitimacy within social and political arenas.

Another is a twelve-episode ghost story about an intergenerational curse resulting from the censorship of a historical traumatic event. It is based on the 2009 novel of the same name by Yukito Ayatsuji [綾辻 行人] and the subsequent manga version by Hiro Kiyohara [清原 紘; 2010–2012]. *Another* first aired from January to March 2012 on Kitanihon Broadcasting, TVQ Kyushu Broadcasting and several other independent Japanese TV stations before receiving an international DVD and Blu-ray release on July 30, 2013. In 2020, it ranked as the thirty-seventh most popular anime of all time on the English-language fan site, *My Anime List*.¹ Despite its 2012 release and enduring popularity, *Another* has yet to be identified in scholarship as an example of anime as a vehicle for social critique. As the debate to revise Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution continues, with its threat to alter the pacifist constitution that has anchored national life since 1947, it seems particularly timely to explore the problems of historical consciousness that dominate the thematic concerns of Mizushima’s anime.²

WAR MEMORY IN JAPAN

Japan does not have a dominant wartime narrative but rather a multiplicity of conflicting narratives that have been formed for political gain or to circumvent responsibilities. Akiko Hashimoto (2015) observes that, despite two-thirds of the Japanese population having been born after World War II, Japan is far from arriving at a national consensus regarding its involvement and defeat in the war, and its war memory is prey to many volatile, unresolved issues. Japan’s official treatment of war guilt and the commemoration of war criminals (the ‘Yasukuni problem’) continue to attract both international

¹ See <https://myanimelist.net/topanime.php?type=bypopularity>.

² Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution was written by the Occupation authorities at the time of Japan’s World War II surrender in 1947, and states: “Aspiring sincerely to an international peace based on justice and order, the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as means of settling international disputes. In order to accomplish [this] aim...land, sea, and air forces, as well as other war potential, will never be maintained. The right of belligerency of the state will not be recognised” (see https://japan.kantei.go.jp/constitution_and_government_of_japan/constitution_e.html).

Japanese Prime Minister Shinzō Abe’s tenure as LDP leader ends in September 2021. As recently as December 2019, Abe has stated on public record that he is “determined not to back down from my cause of revising Article 9” (Abiru 2019). The revision of Article 9 is a contentious issue in Japan, with the U.S.-drafted Constitution and its prohibition of Japanese aggressive militarisation “seen by Japan’s conservatives as a humiliating symbol of defeat”, while others see it as protection against “entanglement in foreign conflicts” (Sieg 2019).

and domestic criticism.³ Japan also faces ongoing claims for compensation and apology related to wartime forced labour, institutionalised prostitution ('comfort women') and its treatment of prisoners of war. Michael Lucken (2017) writes, "the dominant characteristic of Japanese historiography on World War II is fragmentation, an absence of unity" (182), and further posits that post-war Japanese governments have presented the nation's involvement in World War II as "a transgression on behalf of military leaders" (182), leaving questions of blame and responsibility vague. In a similar vein, Hashimoto concludes that these conflicting memories of Japan's troubled past continue to fuel national controversies (2015, 1–24).

Conflicting attitudes within Japan's political landscape drive its historical consciousness problem. A plurality of views exists within the Japanese government regarding its official World War II narrative. At the time of writing in 2020, the ruling Liberal Democratic Party under Prime Minister Shinzō Abe continues to adopt an approach that downplays Japan's aggressive role in World War II and its war crimes (Lucken 2017, 197–98). In opposition to the conservative nationalist parties such as the LDP, Japan's leftist parties, such as the Japanese Communist Party and the Social Democratic Party, advocate that Japan should make reparation for war crimes committed against China and Southeast Asia (197–98). These conflicting divisions, along with competing victim groups within Japan as well as the various international victims of Japan's wartime expansionist agenda, show that historical memory, while seeking truth, can only achieve an approximation of said truth. Ultimately, this is because "history is a science based on selection" (Lucken 2017, 173). What is included and omitted from history is based on the maintenance of a narrative unity that aligns with the moral and political agendas of the ruling parties.

This agentless historical automatism is best illustrated by Japan's memorial practices regarding the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The ruined dome of Hiroshima's Commercial Exhibition Hall, with its clock stopped at 8.15am, is one such example. Other memorial practices see bells and gongs rung at the precise time the atomic bombs were dropped, and memorial museums at both Nagasaki and Hiroshima offer limited space to the historical context around the Allied bombings, instead featuring reconstructions of the events complete with sound effects. This severance of the atomic bombs from a World War II context is understandable in light of the acquittal of rulers before the Tokyo Tribunal. It is notable, says Dower (1999), that "no heads of the... 'Kempeitai' (the military police) were indicted..., [nor were any] industrialists who had profited from aggression and had been ultimately involved in paving the 'road to war'" (464–65).⁴ Dower also points out the exoneration of the Japanese Emperor as another example of the post-war

³ The 'Yasukuni problem' refers to the Yasukuni Shinto shrine and accompanying historical museum that "situates the Asian theatre of World War II in the framework of a '100-year war' of Japan against the West, with the noble objective of liberating other Asian peoples from European and American colonialism," omitting the effects of Japanese colonial rule and war crimes (Saaler 2014, 147). Internationally, visits to the shrine are seen as a violation of the separation between politics and religion enshrined in the Japanese constitution (Saaler 2014).

⁴ The Kempeitai was the Japanese Army's military police. Its primary responsibility was to root out and destroy any dissenting individuals or groups resisting Japanese occupation. The Kempeitai was also in charge of the Japanese military court with the authority to execute those suspected of not following the ideology of Imperial Japan. The Kempeitai is known to have been responsible for unlawful means of interrogation, including physical torture, and hundreds if not thousands of executions, and is also thought to have been responsible for some of the worst atrocities committed during World War II. See Lamont-Brown (1998).

separation of the state from responsibility for acts committed during the war.⁵ More recently, critics have noted that new memorials unveiled in Hiroshima and Nagasaki in the early 2000s fail to contextualise the bombings, focusing instead on mourning.⁶

This representation of the historical events of Hiroshima and Nagasaki as being instantaneous with no lead-up, and most importantly, as agentless, was reproduced following the 2011 Tohoku earthquake and tsunami, with its resulting explosions of several nuclear reactors at the Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant. It is notable that the minute's silence for the Tohoku Disaster is held at the time of the earthquake and not at the time of the explosion of the first nuclear reactor it caused, an incident with transgenerational consequences (Lucken 2017, 229–34). This again shows a concept of history as a series of either unique void-like events, as in the case of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, or a natural occurrence, as in the case of the Fukushima disaster. This attitude of a historical automatism is further shown by the political and media coverage that surrounded the Fukushima disaster. From March 2011 to March 2012, public figures drew parallels between the devastation caused by the Allied bombings and the Tohoku tsunami, which reactivated the horror and ideological rift within Japanese society regarding wartime and nuclear threat (Lucken 2017, 270).

The danger of an attitude of historical progress that frames its metanarrative around an agentless automatism is that it tacitly articulates an ideology that “erases the condition of the defeated or the oppressed” (Brown 2001, 158). Nowhere is this danger more present than in the official treatment of survivors of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, termed *Hibakusha* (被爆者). The Japanese government criteria to attain official *Hibakusha* status involves complicated documentation that requires either a certified statement by a public official; a photograph proving the applicant's specific location at the time of the bombing; written certification from two different people, excluding blood relatives to the third degree, testifying to the applicant's location at the time of the bombing; or a corroborative story from a fellow survivor acknowledging that they and the applicant sheltered together (Southard 2017, 300). As can be imagined, such documentation is not easily attainable. What is most poignant about the status of *Hibakusha* is the vast quantity of people that do not attempt an application. This is due to the way that “*Hibakusha*—even those with economic and social status and with no visible injuries or illness—were routinely rejected as marriage partners because of widespread fears about radiation-related illnesses and possible genetic effects on children” (Southard 2017, 204). This fear has extended to second-generation *Hibakusha* who are currently seeking damages for social ostracism and a life of fear regarding their health. This prejudice based on fear clearly paints *Hibakusha* as ‘Other’: spectral beings whom official discourses would rather ignore.

⁵ The US administration decided not to bring Emperor Hirohito to trial at the Tokyo indictments, as it determined that allowing the Emperor to retain his position would be advantageous in helping the Japanese people come to terms with their defeat. See Dower (1999).

⁶ In regard to the lack of contextualisation surrounding the Hiroshima and Nagasaki war memorials, Lisa Yoneyama (1999, 3) states: “Whether within mainstream national historiography, which remembers Hiroshima's (and Nagasaki's) atomic bombing as victimization experienced by the Japanese collectivity, or in the equally pervasive, more universalistic narrative on the bombing(s) that records it as having been an unprecedented event in the history of humanity, Hiroshima (and Nagasaki) memories have been predicated on the grave obfuscation of the prewar Japanese Empire, its colonial practices, and their consequences”.

This fear of the ‘Other’ and the painting of *Hibakusha* as ‘Other’ is cemented in the wording of the Hibakusha Relief Law (被爆者救済法). This Act contains overtones that make it clear that the payments of medical fees provided by the Act are not state redress. Specifically, the Act reinforces that the recipients of payments are not receiving them as victims of World War II trauma, a category which would have the potential to implicate the Japanese government given its own active participation in World War II. Instead, the legislation indicates that any monetary redress received through the Hibakusha Relief Law is to be viewed as charitable social security payment for those immediately affected by the atomic bombs, and not as compensation for events that were in any way related to Japan’s wartime actions (Takeuchi 2018). They are, ultimately, a bandaging—an “isolating and concealing”—of “the wounds of the past in a manner directly antithetical to their healing” (Blake 2008, 2–3). This example represents a failure to take responsibility for the past, and in doing so elevate *Hibakusha* from the classification of ‘Other’ to a human whose history is that of Japan’s as a whole. The refusal to compensate *Hibakusha* as victims of World War II—and by extension, of Japan’s own involvement in the war—can be seen as an evasion of responsibility for the past, effectively censoring *Hibakusha* and trapping them within a thick present that curtails their future. It is with this censoring of history in order to maintain the present that the concept of hauntology assumes its full ethical potential.

DERRIDA’S HAUNTOLOGY AND HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS

Japan’s contested wartime narrative is one example of the problem of historical consciousness which Jacques Derrida interrogates through his theory of hauntology, as presented in *Specters of Marx* [1993]. In line with a “strong tradition” of interpretation and usage of ‘haunting narratives’, hauntology envisions history’s relationship to the present as a form of ‘haunting’, “especially when that history is shameful, traumatic and repressed” (Leeder 2009, 71). It figures history as a ‘spectre’; a timeless other that exists in the present yet is not represented in the discourse of the day. To commune with the spectre of history, therefore, is to commune with an absent ‘Other.’ The future similarly features in the hauntology paradigm: Derrida notes that the historical ‘Other,’ the *revenant*, “that which comes back” (2006, 11), can also be *arrivant*, “that which remains to come” (28), as hauntology acknowledges the lost future potential inherent in every past.

Derrida writes that recognising the spectre of history is an act of present political responsibility. Coining the term ‘spectropolitics’, Derrida positions the essential ontologies “of present as actual reality and objectivity (as dependent on) dissipating the phantom”, thereby making the ghost of the past part of the dialogues of today (Derrida 2006, 232). Derrida strengthens his argument by pointing out that the insubstantial or virtual, when unaddressed, can become a larger and more powerful force than an ontology of thinking or being. Further, he contends that by viewing the spectre as being of mere historiographical interest to the present, we are creating an attitude of historical progress that frames its metanarrative around an emergent future that treats the past and present as givens. Hauntology

mourns this disappearance of “a whole mode of social imagination or the capacity to conceive of a world radically different from the one in which (we) currently live” (Fisher 2012, 16).⁷ As an antidote to this phenomenon, Derrida advocates a use of historical memory to undo the inevitability or given-ness of the present through a continual questioning and de-censoring of the past, which in turn opens channels of communication with the spectre in the interests of the future.

Tsutomu Mizushima’s *Another* incorporates both the *revenant* spectre, in the form of a ghost, and the *arrivant* spectre, in the form of lost futures. Derrida’s hauntology offers us a productive model for understanding the interconnected nature of these forces. Although the application of hauntology in a philosophical engagement with anime is unprecedented, some scholars have applied Derridean discourse to anime in order to extend and reinforce political and philosophical theories that have real-world implications. For example, Jane Goodall’s “Hybridity and the End of Innocence” (2007) reads Hideki Takayama’s 1987–1989 anime series *Legends of the Overfiend* through Derrida’s theory of *différance*. For Derrida:

Nothing is ever one (singular), but always at least two (dual). As for any trace, mark, or inscription to be what it is it has to be an opposition to what it is not. Therefore if it is repetition that makes it possible to think sameness or identity, it does so only in so far as it introduces proliferating difference.
 (Hill 2007, 16–17)

Using this Derridean discourse that sees repetition and otherness as inseparable, Goodall addresses the overt duality of *Legend of the Overfiend*’s principal character, Amano Jyaku, a hybrid man/beast. Goodall’s interpretation of Derrida’s *différance* via the dualism at the core of the series’ protagonist is truly enlightening and as such bears repeating:

Dualism is the enemy of difference...It is not structural but dynamic. It is not about signifiers but about forces. Whether its chosen principles are good and evil, innocence and experience, feminine and masculine, reason and energy, or any other of the great metaphysical oppositions, dualism remains volatile and is always dramatic because it is always antagonistic. Each of the two sides devours subdivisions (differences) in an all-consuming drive to confront its other head on.
 (Goodall 2007, 169)

Goodall’s use of Derridean theory is complemented by Pauline Moore’s “When Velvet Gloves Meet Iron Fists: Cuteness in Japanese Animation” (2007), which discusses anime’s use of a ‘cute’ aesthetic in relation to its youthful protagonists and zoomorphic characters, through a Derridean deconstruction of the word ‘cute’. Moore’s tracing of the etymology of the word ‘cute’ to its first English-language appearance in 1731 as a shortened form of ‘acute’ (complete with an opening apostrophe), and defined as “clever, shrewd, cunning”, paints anime’s ‘cute’ aesthetic as a form of hyper-innocence (2007, 120). The defeated often appear in their weakness as irrelevant and trifling. Moore argues that these ‘cute’ figures of anime can be positioned

⁷ Mark Fisher (2014) has written extensively on hauntology and is its most clarifying exponent, especially in showing its application to contemporary popular culture.

as a reaction to the lingering shadow of Japan's World War II defeat and the subsequent American occupation of Japan. In other words, they are the inherited benign face that Japan turns towards the West. Yet, as Moore points out, these 'cute' benign figures are placed within "technological landscapes of death, destruction and danger" and when "they fight back", they become 'acute', malign beings (Moore 2007, 130–31). Moore's 'cute/acute' beings and Goodall's man/beast characters, when read through the lens of Derrida against the context of Japan's involvement in World War II, can be seen as dualistic—not only in their personal hybridity, but as bridging the opposition of past and future. Their duality simulates the repressed 'Other' that confronts the West head on. Ultimately, these dual figures suggest that the present is often reliant on having disavowed the ghosts of an unresolved past. This distinctly hauntological idea can be read at the core of Mizushima's *Another*, which sees the return of disruptive ghosts that history has sought to excise.

ANOTHER

The main narrative of *Another* revolves around a curse triggered in 1972 by the refusal of high school Class 3-3 to accept the death of a classmate named Misaki Yomiyama. Following his death, Misaki Yomiyama becomes a mythic figure for Class 3-3. The class leaves his desk unoccupied, not in the spirit of memorialisation, but rather of denial. The students of Class 3-3 act as though Misaki is still amongst them and refuse to speak of his death. This denial of an event in history enables the manifestation of an actual spectral presence that becomes the starting point for the narrative society of *Another*. Set in the fictional provincial Japanese town of Yomiyama, the series opens in 1999 and follows a fourteen-year-old boy named Koichi Sakakibara, who has relocated from Tokyo. Arriving at his new school and joining Class 3-3, Koichi is shaken by the strange behaviour of his fellow classmates, particularly their apparent unwillingness to acknowledge the existence of Mei Misaki, a girl with an eye-patch who sits, ignored, at the back of the class. As the series unfolds, Koichi, with difficulty, discovers that Class 3-3 is cursed. In refusing to accept and acknowledge Misaki Yomiyama's death in 1972, Yomiyama's classmates triggered a curse that began with his spectral return. From that time, each successive Class 3-3 has been plagued by further unexpected deaths of those connected to the class. With each death, a new 'Another' returns to inhabit Class 3-3—a former student or faculty member who appears to be alive but is actually dead—in unacknowledged physical form. After the curse has run its annual course, the circumstances surrounding the deaths occasioned by the curse are subject to mass amnesia, in line with the original Class 3-3's denial of Yomiyama's death.

Over the years, recognition of this phenomena has seen Class 3-3 implement methods to limit the deaths caused by the curse. Class 3-3 adopts a 'one equals one' society, theorising that the assignment of a class member to the role of pseudo-ghost (the role Mei Misaki occupies when Koichi arrives) would allow room for the real spectre to join the class, thereby strengthening Class 3-3's official historical narrative, which refuses to acknowledge Yomiyama's

death.⁸ This method of accommodating the curse was thought to be a way of preventing the spate of deaths caused each year by the historical ghosts. In the year that Koichi Sakakibara enters Class 3-3, student Izumi Akazawa has been appointed head of ‘countermeasures’, a student group formed to police the maintenance of the curse. Izumi is vigilant in adopting the mathematical formula of ‘one equals one’, ensuring that Class 3-3 has the correct number of students in order to prevent any outliers. Meanwhile, the character of Mei Misaki has been chosen by Class 3-3 to become the pseudo-ghost, to allow room for the historical spectre to become human should it appear.

Although excluded from the official life of Class 3-3, Mei is free to come and go as she pleases within the society of the Class, as her pseudo-ghost status—reinforced by her occupation of the desk formerly belonging to the deceased Misaki Yomiyama—sees it imperative that peers and teachers alike ignore her. However, an inadvertent violation of this imperative triggers a resurgence of the curse. Arriving in Yomiyama with no knowledge of the curse, Koichi begins a friendship with Mei, which dislodges her pseudo-ghost status but importantly also allows Mei and Koichi to investigate the truth that lies behind the curse.

SHOCKS AND SOCIUS: THE HAUNTOLOGICAL IN *ANOTHER*

The above synopsis of *Another*’s plot reflects the primary tenet of Derrida’s theory of hauntology: that the repression of historical events leads to the repetition of social and political impulses that confine society to the maintenance of an established ideological system, due to failure to dissipate the spectre of past trauma. The irony is that in order to dispense with the spectre, one must initially call it into being. It is the failure of Class 3-3 of 1972 to accept the death of Misaki Yomiyama—to call his ghost into being, so to speak—that sees subsequent classes trapped within a sociopolitical system that is “reduced to the administration of an already established system” (Fisher 2012, 16). It is no accident that throughout *Another*, Misaki Yomiyama is portrayed as having been both intellectually and physically gifted, virtuous and popular, and coming from Tokyo—the aspirational representative of Japan as a whole. In short, for his classmates, Misaki Yomiyama exemplified an ideal. If, as Arthur Bradley argues, a sovereign gains their sovereignty through not being of the same order as those over whom they preside (2013, 795), then it is not too much of a leap to position Yomiyama as the sovereign of his class, a point reinforced by the fact that he shares his name with the town in which *Another* is set. In light of this, the refusal of Class 3-3 to accept Misaki Yomiyama’s death, and therefore the death of the sovereign ideal, becomes understandable.

Ultimately, the world of *Another* is concerned with maintaining the denial of a threatening event, as opposed to addressing the said event in order to

⁸ The concept of ‘one equals one’ is drawn from the work of Alain Badiou (2007). Badiou sees any dominant ideology centre around an attitude of ‘one equaling one’; this enables it to effectively negate the potential for multiplicity, which, in Badiou’s terms, mark the unforeseeable plethora of possibilities open to pursuit and development. The common-sense phrase ‘one equals one’ refuses the multiplicity that could undermine the dominant ideology. Badiou argues that every successfully totalitarian system must be built upon this principle, denying other possible avenues into the future.

enable historical progress. This narrative premise of *Another* encapsulates Derrida's theory of hauntology and its underlying argument that the denial of past tragedy sees society—in this case, Class 3-3—stuck within a repeating temporal loop, “a cultural time (that) has folded back in on itself” (Fisher 2014, 9). It also figures Derrida's hauntological vision of the society that has lost its future, in the sense that the class cannot imagine a society different from its own. Similarly, as noted earlier in this paper, Japan can also be seen as stuck in its own repeating temporal loop, as shown by the political and media coverage of the 2011 Tohoku earthquake and tsunami, which drew parallels with the nuclear attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. It is not too much to say that the nuclear disaster of 2011 became, in public and political discourse, the return of the spectre of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Likewise, the denial of Misaki Yomiyama's death in *Another* returns in the manifestation of additional ghosts, either in the spectral form of the actual deceased or as the symbolic spectre of those living members of Class 3-3 who are cast in the role of pseudo-ghost in attempts to counteract the curse.

According to the lore of the curse, the persistent inclusion of Misaki Yomiyama as a present, living member of the class following his death sparked a spate of further deaths. These deaths occurred sporadically and were confined to members of Class 3-3 and their immediate families. This curse can be seen to represent the implications of the repression of historical trauma. The denial of Misaki Yomiyama's death effectively leaves him trapped within the present, the trauma of his untimely death in the past denied. Derrida's spectres, though, are both *revenant* (past) and *arrivant* (future). That is, within every past there is also a latent future, the imaginative potential of which Misaki Yomiyama is denied. Thus, the concept of “transgenerational trauma”, which encompasses the transmission of both familial and societal trauma across generations (Atkinson 2017, 4), plays out in the subtext of *Another*. It is the subsequent deaths caused by the denial of the death of Yomiyama that turn the transgenerational implications of unresolved trauma into literal lost futures. Writing on war memory, Ruth Kluger, who experienced the World War II Holocaust as a child, states: “Where there is no grave, one cannot mourn properly; one remains forever tied to a loss that never becomes real” (2003, 80). Gabriele Schwab (2010) expands on Kluger's idea, writing that “Violent histories generate psychic deformations passed on from generation to generation” (48). Japan's lack of a dominant wartime narrative is not dissimilar to the absent grave that Kluger speaks of. Within the fictional narrative of *Another*, the “loss that never becomes real” looms large in the form of the spectre of Yomiyama, which successive generations of Class 3-3 cannot shake, and which shapes their every move. *Another* represents an analogy of the effects of transgenerational trauma that are brought about by a society's inability to mourn the unacknowledged, reflecting Japan's struggles with wartime memory.

There is a limit inherent in language with regard to reality: times when traditional models of cognition, and even representation itself, appear insufficient for bearing witness to horrific events. The atomic bombing of Japan was one such occurrence and its horror resides not only in the immense damage caused and its subsequent immeasurability, but also in the wrongs

wrought upon its victims, both dead and alive, and in the impossibility of their testifying adequately in relation to such an unprecedented event (Lyotard 1988).⁹ Often, when faced with the cognitive limits of shocking events or experiences, there is a “self-defeating tendency to respectfully silence testimonies of trauma deemed so horrific as to be unspeakable” (Blake 2008, 4). This silencing results in a culture of secrecy around trauma, which for Class 3-3 physically manifests itself as the spectres that haunt their world. This sees the members of Class 3-3, whether they like it or not, become the ghost’s co-conspirators in their blind submission to the silence surrounding its origins. Further, this conspiracy of silence about the past under which Class 3-3 labours results in ‘the disappearance of a whole mode of social imagination’, a phenomenon that Derrida warns against with hauntology. In short, the students of Class 3-3, in their eagerness to conceal the past, cannot conceive of a future that is radically different from the one they inhabit.

That cultural trauma binds its victims in a conspiracy of concealment, an abstraction of history, goes a long way towards explaining why we cannot easily expose and hence exorcise the spectres of our past. Class 3-3’s role as co-conspirators with the spectre sees the possibility of their making a stand against this power take on the form of social treason. Rather than unearth the identity of their ghost, the students of Class 3-3 incorporate it as a living member into their society. If, as noted earlier, history is indeed “a science based on selection” (Lucken 2017, 173), then this is epitomised by the transgenerational actions of Class 3-3, which can in turn be read as an allegory for Japan’s differing narratives or omissions with regard to World War II. That is, for every narrative inclusion in order to support a particular historical ideological standpoint, it is necessary to exclude any differing viewpoint of events. For example, the curse looming over Class 3-3 is periodically triggered by the presence in their midst of a ghost: to be precise, a soul, and a body of memories, that refuses to lie quiet. This presence, which is connected to any of the many who have previously died due to the curse sparked by the denial of Yomiyama’s death, constitutes an intolerable surface, an excess of meaning that cannot be accommodated within the group’s totalising and coherent self-conception. That Mei Misaki shares her name with Misaki Yomiyama, the original ghost of the world of *Another*, is a clear signpost that individual identity incorporates and is thereby prey to the collective trauma of the past. It is Koichi’s unexpected arrival in the class, and his ignorance of Mei’s spectral status, that awakens the curse. But crucially, it is Izumi’s lamentation that her mathematical formula had failed despite its initial appearance of correctness that forms a clear parallel to Alain Badiou’s theory that any multiplicity applied to the ‘one equals one’ attitude threatens the dominant ideology, and as such must be excluded (2007).

THE POLITICS OF EXCLUSION: THE REVOLUTIONARY POTENTIAL OF HAUNTOLOGY IN *ANOTHER*

If the preservation of a dominant ideology relies on both present and historical censorship, then the censored elements have a revolutionary potential. This potential is mirrored in Mei’s role as Class 3-3’s sacrificial ghost, which sees

⁹ For discussion of the impossibility of adequate testimony related to traumatic events, see Lyotard 1988.

her occupy a state of exclusion. It is only through the protocols of the society of Class 3-3 that Mei has the freedom to, with the aid of Koichi, investigate the truth that lies behind the curse. Mei's exclusion from the official narrative (through the necessity to ignore her) prevents her from being managed in a way that might allow the class to foresee or circumvent a public display of dissidence. After all, as in the unchanging society of Class 3-3, the dominant historical discourse of a society is, whether consciously or unconsciously, used primarily as a tool for social control in order to maintain existing power structures. When comparisons began to be made in Japan between the Allied atomic bombings of 1945 and the devastation of the Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant caused by the 2011 Tohoku tsunami, part of the government discourse included comparing the Fukushima firefighters with World War II kamikaze pilots, a narrative that replaced fears of contamination with tropes of nationalistic heroism (Lucken 2017, 271). However, this attempt at allaying fears in regards to the use of nuclear power didn't stop anti-nuclear activists from mobilising tens of thousands of people to protest against Japan's nuclear power goals outside the Prime Minister's official residence in 2012 (Brown 2018).¹⁰ It is this subversive influence that Derrida references in the title of his hauntological text, *Specters of Marx*:

The 'specter of communism' that Marx and Engels wrote of in the first lines of *The Communist Manifesto* was just this kind of ghost: a virtuality whose threatened coming was already playing a part in undermining the present state of things.

(Fisher 2014, 22).

In short, if "history is controlled by structures of power that work to exclude and repress", then in turn "that repression creates subversive power hovering just below the surface", beyond official control (Leeder 2009, 72). The same is true in *Another*: Mei's exclusion from the society of Class 3-3, combined with class members' inability to acknowledge her existence, means that the class is unable to manage her subversive potential. This proves disastrous when Class 3-3's protocols are unexpectedly disrupted by an outsider, as Koichi's arrival at school sees him acknowledge Mei, a situation that the other members of Class 3-3 cannot prevent. How do you tell someone to ignore a ghost that does not exist?

As in *Another*, ignoring the spectre is difficult, and the present is not as independent from the past as it may appear. Whether it be the parallels drawn in Japan between the 2011 Fukushima disaster and the atomic bombings of 1945, or Koichi's innocent acknowledgment of Mei, the present reveals how the imagined linear relationship between past and future is reliant upon the censorship of that which prevents coherent management by the dominant power. With Koichi's acknowledgment of Mei, the curse of Class 3-3 sparks the return of sporadic deaths of individuals connected to the class. Mei, and by association Koichi, are free to discover the omitted narratives related to Class 3-3 due to the subversive potential inherent in their own spectral status. Mei and Koichi begin their research into the omitted narratives of Class 3-3 by tracking down past students. This leads them to discover a year when the curse appeared to have been triggered but suddenly ceased. Contacting

¹⁰ For more on the rise of anti-nuclear protest groups in Japan, see Pradyumna and Suganuma 2016.

a student from that year, Katsumi Matsunaga, Mei and Koichi are led to an ageing cassette tape hidden in their classroom storage cupboard. The contents of the cassette reveal to Mei and Koichi that the unexpected cessation of the curse was due to the accidental death of the ‘Another’, the spectre who had assumed physical form amongst the class. The fact that Mizushima articulates this memory device in the form of a superseded medium or media ‘spectre’ shows that, for the characters of *Another*, time has run out to ignore the past.

Attending the annual school trip to the Yomiyama Shrine, Mei and Koichi, along with their intimates, Naoya and Yuya, listen to the cassette and discover that on the same school trip fifteen years previously, Katsumi had accidentally killed a fellow classmate. The lack of repercussions for this murder, and indeed, the failure of anyone to remember the slain student, allow Katsumi to realise that he had killed the true ‘Another’, and in doing so had stopped the curse. Mei and Koichi now realise that the present Class 3-3’s survival is predicated on finding the historical spectre amongst them in order to send the “dead back to death” (Mizushima 2017). Unfortunately for Mei and Koichi, another member of the class, Takako, discovers the cassette and broadcasts its contents to the entire class, adding that she is convinced that Mei is not only their elected ghost, but also a real historical spectre. The final scenes of *Another* see the class descend into madness, first attempting to kill Mei and then turning on each other in an attempt to rid themselves of the ‘Another’. Here, we see a ‘survival of the fittest’ scenario play out as the students fight against each other for their lives. Mizushima’s directorial choice to persist with showing graphically violent attacks—and in several cases deaths—can be seen as an allegory for Japanese war memory.

CONCLUSION: HAUNTOLOGY AS ETHICS

The curse of Class 3-3 arises from historical censorship and presents a compelling analogy for post-war Japan’s historical consciousness problem. The intergenerational legacy of the curse can be seen as a dramatisation of how, in a broader sense, memories of collective trauma remain within cultures and societies long after the events themselves. In contemporary Japan, the comparisons between the 1945 allied atomic bombings and the 2011 Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant disaster show how memories of collective trauma not only endure but can even intensify with the passage of time. Hauntology, via the figure of the ghost, seeks to heal these temporal wounds—both historical and ideological—by theorising the spectres of the past in the present. This temporal in-betweenness, at the same time, opens up a space for all those historically marginalised as ‘Other’. In *Another*, Mei Misaki is relegated to a physical embodiment of temporal in-betweenness as a function of her symbolic society’s evasion of responsibility to all but the present. The exclusion of Mei into the void between the past and the present is analogous to the position of the *Hibakusha* in Japanese society. With limited official acknowledgement of their past, *Hibakusha* occupy a precarious space between past and present that also denies recognition for their lost futures.

In its core refusal to silence the voices of the past and the marginalised voices of the present—all that is accorded the label of ‘Other’—hauntology pledges a promise of responsibility to everyone, whether living or non-living, included or excluded, in pursuit of a more just, emancipatory, or felicitous future order. The promise of conversing with our ghosts or ‘Others’ through an incessant questioning of the socio-politically constructed nature of historical narratives becomes crucial when matters of historical importance are debated in the public sphere, such as the revision of Article 9 in Japan’s constitution. In the end, the characters of *Another* fail to address the question of what kinds of memories are being excluded in specific contexts, or most importantly, what kinds of counter-memories may be forged to resist dominant practices and arrangements of power. These questions not only need to be interrogated in Japan, but should be of critical interest to us all.

Tsutomu Mizushima’s *Another* provides a strong analogy for the difficulties that arise from Japan’s historical consciousness problem, in relation to its competing World War II narratives. In doing so, it highlights, in a broader sense, that trauma remains with cultures and societies long after the events themselves. These enduring concerns, arising between the living and the dead, haunt on. In persistently counting their dead classmate Misaki Yomiyama among the living, Class 3-3 renders him neither past nor future but solely present. Through an application of Jacques Derrida’s theory of hauntology we see that this denial of the past by Class 3-3 limits its members’ future to the maintenance of the present: they cannot ‘move on,’ so to speak. Further, in refusing to acknowledge its history, Class 3-3 not only accords its historical ghosts the status of ‘Other’, but also sacrifices members of its current society to the role of ‘Other’ when their presence threatens the current ideology. *Another* provides a critical lesson in the dangers of not conversing with the ghosts of our past—a lesson that aligns with Derrida’s hauntology. Though neither Mizushima nor Derrida provide a final response as to how we are to effectively converse with our ghosts, it seems that they both see the future deriving from the incessant questioning of historical narratives—a questioning not only applicable to Japan as it debates remilitarisation within a landscape of unresolved past wartime narratives, but one relevant to all societies.

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Child's Play? Exploring the Significance of Kawaii for Decora and Fairy-Kei Fashion Practitioners in Harajuku through a Case-Focused Analysis

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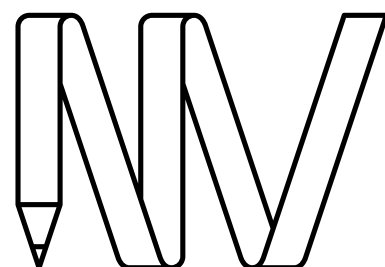
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ABSTRACT

Literature that explores alternative *kawaii* ('cute'; 'adorable') fashion associated with Harajuku, Japan, argues that it is an infantile practice in which practitioners seek to reject adult thoughts, feelings and responsibility through childish mannerisms and dress. These understandings of *kawaii* fashion, however, are formed without input from practitioners themselves. Drawing upon a case-focused analysis of alternative *kawaii* fashion practitioners in Harajuku derived from semi-structured interviews, this article seeks to contribute to this discussion from a sociological perspective. The article focusses on *decora* and fairy *kei*, two alternative *kawaii* fashion styles in Harajuku that typically incorporate toys and clothing intended for children, and in doing so blur the boundaries between acceptable attire for children and adults. The article provides an overview of literature on the relationship between *kawaii* fashion and 'the little girl' (*shōjo*) and identifies new possibilities for expanding on current understandings of *kawaii*. It also seeks to complicate views that equate alternative *kawaii* fashion practice with childishness by placing the voices of two practitioners in dialogue with scholarly research in this area to date. In doing so, the article advocates for the voices of practitioners to be considered in future scholarship on alternative *kawaii* fashion with ties to Harajuku.

KEYWORDS

affect; alternative communities; contemporary; fashion; gender; girl culture; girls; Harajuku; kawaii; shōjo; subculture; women; youth; youth culture



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Harajuku (原宿), a shopping district in Tokyo, has been associated with spectacular fashion since the 1970s.¹ One form of fashion that has emerged in this area since the 1980s is alternative *kawaii* fashion. The term '*kawaii*', which is rendered variously in Japanese script as 'かわいい', 'カワイイ' and '可愛い', has been defined by scholars as 'adorable' or 'cute' and is primarily recognised as a gendered mode of expression for women and girls.² '*Kawaii* fashion' is a broad term which refers to fashion informed by the concept and aesthetic of *kawaii*. Over recent decades, numerous subgenres of *kawaii* fashion have spawned across Japan, each with their own specific conventions, aesthetics, purposes and intents. One grouping of these subgenres can be described as 'alternative *kawaii* fashion', as its practitioners aim to create new modes of dress and expression, and do not adhere to more mainstream *kawaii* fashion conventions. This grouping of alternative *kawaii* fashion is informed by the locale of practice and the ways in which practitioners resist mainstream fashion conventions. In this article, I use the term 'alternative *kawaii* fashion associated with Harajuku' in acknowledgement that I research just one instance amongst a large field of *kawaii* fashion practices in the Japanese context. Anglophone scholarship on *kawaii* fashion has largely focused on Lolita fashion (ロリータファッション), which is one specific subgenre of this practice associated with Harajuku (for example, Winge 2008; Younker 2011; Nguyen 2016). In contrast, this article is dedicated to two lesser-documented subgenres known as '*decora*' (デコラー) and '*fairy kei*' (フェアリー系), as they were practiced from 2013 to 2015. The purpose of this article is to complicate the understanding of the extent to which women who participate in these two subgenres may view their mode of dress as a child-like, infantile and playful practice. I aim to situate *decora* and *fairy kei* within a broader discussion of the significance and implications of young people in Japan using alternative *kawaii* fashion to navigate pathways to adulthood.

Scholarship has acknowledged that '*kawaii*' as it is used in today in Japan has flexible and diverse meanings and is used by different groups in different ways (Koga 2009; McVeigh 2000, 135; Miller 2011). In this article, I use the term '*kawaii* culture' to refer to a variety of practices including fashion, aesthetics, performance, appearance and disposition that are centred around the concept of 'the adorable'. *Kawaii* culture involves both an appreciation of things that are thought to be adorable, as well as an interest in becoming adorable for other people. In the context of alternative *kawaii* fashion associated with Harajuku, practitioners are interested in exploring what is adorable for them and in being affirmed as adorable by their peers.

¹ The Harajuku area has historically served as the main point of access to Meiji Shrine. Following World War II, trendy boutiques selling Western fashion began to be established in the area. Since then, the site has played host to many generations of youth subcultures and communities. Today, Harajuku's main streets are densely lined with shops and shopping centres that sell an array of fashion-related goods and confectionery. These stretch to the very back streets of the area, known as *Ura-Harajuku* (裏原宿; 'back of Harajuku'), and continue until the neighbouring suburb of Omotesando, which is home to a combination of residential properties and luxury shopping boutiques.

² *Kawaii* is a multifarious concept, with each script having its own connotations. In Harajuku, practitioners favour the more casual renderings of the term; namely, 'カワイイ' or 'かわいい'. A comprehensive discussion of *kawaii* is beyond the scope of this paper. For more information, see Monden (2015), Yano (2015), McVeigh (2000), Nittono (2013, 2016), Ihara and Nittono (2011), Kanai and Nittono (2015), Nishimura (2019), Abe (2015), Yomota (2006) and Aoyagi (2015).

This article responds to Amelia Groom's (2011, 205) argument that practitioners in Harajuku employ *kawaii* fashion as a "tactic of empowerment" through the "avoidance" of adulthood by participating in child-like play (205). In making this claim, Groom's article is one of many to respond to Sharon Kinsella's (1995) conceptualisation of *kawaii* fashion more broadly as a means of exploring alternative pathways to adulthood. Kinsella's (1995) chapter "Cuties in Japan" is regularly cited as an authoritative source in English-language scholarship on *kawaii* culture. However, as 25 years have passed since Kinsella made her original observations, our understandings of the nuances of *kawaii* fashion need to be recast in terms of contemporary practice. Furthermore, if we are to continue to view alternative *kawaii* fashion associated with the Harajuku area as a resistant and subversive practice, as Steele et al. (2010), Godoy (2007) and Kawamura (2012) propose, then the relationship between it and adulthood requires careful conceptualisation. This is because scholars also argue that while the use of *kawaii* by women is multifaceted, it can also reinforce gender inequality in the Japanese context (see for instance Akita 2005; Yano 2015, 56; Koga 2009, 206–20). This argument creates an additional layer of complexity. While participants might attempt to resist mainstream adult expectations by 'acting like children', they also inadvertently reproduce heteronormative gender norms present in the experience of womanhood in Japan.

In this article, I draw upon English-language literature on *kawaii* fashion, and specifically on alternative *kawaii* fashion affiliated with Harajuku, along with a case-focused analysis based on qualitative interviews conducted in Harajuku between 2013 and 2015. My informants reflected on whether *decora* and *fairy-kei* practitioners view their mode of dress as infantile or whether there is more to the practice than outsiders have proposed. As a sociologist trained in the interpretivist tradition, positioned as an Australian-born alternative *kawaii* fashion practitioner with ties to the Harajuku area since 2009, I call for further research that incorporates the voices of practitioners when conceptualising the relationship between alternative *kawaii* fashion associated with Harajuku and broader discussions of women and *kawaii* culture. I argue that alternative *kawaii* fashion associated with the Harajuku area enables practitioners to bring colour and creativity to their everyday adult lives, and that it is not intended to be a form of regression or resistance to 'growing up'. Contrary to Kinsella's argument, my informants related that *kawaii* fashion provides practitioners with a wealth of experience as it involves responses to objects that are emotive, imaginative and energising. A secondary aim of this article is to provide an account of *decora* and *fairy-kei* practices, which are documented in journalistic texts but have yet to be explored in Anglophone academic literature.

The article begins by introducing *decora* and *fairy kei* as two particular styles of alternative *kawaii* fashion associated with the Harajuku area. It then provides an overview of the literature on *kawaii* fashion and of the study's methodology, followed by two case studies. The first case study focusses on a practitioner who reflects on dressing in *fairy-kei* fashion and her interest in colourful clothing, which she feels goes against social norms in Japan. The second follows a *decora* practitioner who reflects on what she sees as

the playful and spontaneous nature of her fashion. The article concludes by discussing the implications of both case studies with reference to the literature and makes recommendations for further research.

AN OVERVIEW OF DECORA AND FAIRY-KEI FASHION

Decora and fairy *kei* became prevalent in the Harajuku area in the late 2000s, worn publicly by individuals while shopping or meeting with friends. It has been documented primarily in the form of street photography and on social media platforms such as Instagram, Twitter and Facebook. It is difficult to determine the number of participants in these subgenres, as they do not organise themselves into formal groups or clubs and little information on these modes of dress is available in either popular media or scholarship.³ Regardless, these subgenres are worthy of note due to their visual salience in representing the Harajuku area, as seen in Japanese street fashion publications such as the print magazine *KERA* (1998–2017; *decora* and fairy *kei* are evident in issues from 2012 onwards) or the *KERA* photo book *Harajuku Wonderland* (2019), along with other books such *Decora.Book* (2016) by Shōichi Aoki [青木 正一]. *KERA* is a print magazine which was published by Kodansha and ran from 1998 to 2017. It featured content such as clothing editorials using products from fashion labels affiliated with Harajuku, as well as clothing and make-up tutorials and street photography. Shōichi Aoki, meanwhile, was the editor of the influential *FRUiTS* magazine, which captured street fashion in the Harajuku area from 1997 to 2017. English titles that capture *decora* and fairy-*kei* fashion include Card's (2014) *Tokyo Adorned* and Okazaki and Johnson's (2013) *Kawaii! Japan's Culture of Cute*. These modes of dress are also documented online via street photography websites such as *Tokyo Fashion* (2019).⁴ Although *decora* fashion is still worn and documented in street photography and social media, fairy *kei* appears to be in decline at the time of writing. However, as these subgenres can be quite unpredictable, it is possible that fairy *kei* or a variation thereof may re-emerge.

Whilst the *decora* and fairy-*kei* styles have their own specific traits, both are characterised by full skirts made from gauze and tulle, colourful clothing, and the layering of accessories including bracelets, hair clips, necklaces and rings (Groom 2011, 193; Yagi 2018, 17). Based on these sources, popular items among *decora* and fairy-*kei* fashion practitioners include oversized vintage t-shirts and sweaters, bright American sports jackets and knitwear from the 1980s, striped socks and platform shoes. One specific practice shared by these two styles is upcycling, whereby objects are transformed into accessories which participants use to adorn their bodies. While fairy *kei* uses softer colour palettes and has a greater focus on thrifting 1980s American childhood paraphernalia, *decora* fashion uses brighter colours and has less

³ Some of the few examples of print media documenting *decora* fashion include *KERA* (2012, 44; 2014, 22), Okada (2012, 40–44), Keet (2016) and Aoki (2016). It is interesting to note that in the *KERA* magazine editorials such as the ones cited here, 'colourful' (カラフル) is used as a descriptor for these fashion cultures, rather than the more specific terms 'decora' or 'fairy kei'. Further research into why these media did not adequately document this phenomenon is needed, however one hypothesis could be that these subgenres are not strongly affiliated with a particular designer label and are thus difficult to market to. For rare examples of English-language scholarship discussing these genres, see Groom (2011) and Yagi (2018).

⁴ *Tokyo Fashion* is an online blog dedicated to documenting street fashion worn in the Tokyo area, and has a section dedicated to documenting clothing worn specifically in the Harajuku area. The website can be accessed via www.tokyofashion.com.

predictable themes, as practitioners create their own based on things they like, such as particular animals, favourite characters or monsters. Another difference between these subgenres is the volume of accessories worn and their placement. While fairy-*kei* practitioners may wear a few statement pieces, such as a necklace with a large toy pendant, *decora* is characterised by excess: clips are layered in the fringe and behind the ears, and multiple bracelets and rings are worn. Practitioners are primarily young women; however, a few men are also involved.

Both fairy-*kei* and *decora* fashion practitioners source clothing from second-hand clothing stores, such as Kinji or Sankyu Mart in Harajuku, but also shop at specialist boutiques. Some *decora* fashion practitioners take inspiration from Sebastian Masuda's Harajuku boutique 6% DOKI DOKI, founded in 1995, and ACDC Rag, another Harajuku boutique founded in 1980. Fairy *kei*'s look was primarily solidified through the formation in 2004 of Sayuri Tabuchi's thrift and hand-made goods store Spank!, which sells vintage clothing sourced from America.⁵ Fairy *kei* has been further shaped by Japanese clothing boutiques such as Nile Perch, which sells new clothing including baby doll dresses, oversized knitwear, oversized t-shirts and hand-made accessories, all in pastel tones. A key part of both *decora* and fairy *kei* is creativity and customisation, which is expressed through the assemblage and upcycling of items into new outfits. This is in contrast with other styles associated with the area, such as Lolita fashion, which relies on specially manufactured clothing tailored to the style. *Decora* and fairy-*kei* practitioners often upcycle objects originally intended for children (sourced from both Japan and overseas), including toys, accessories, clothing and craft materials. For this reason, the *decora* and fairy-*kei* subgenres could be considered as blurring the boundaries between acceptable attire for children and adults. Because of this practice, in addition to practitioners' interest in *kawaii* as a concept and aesthetic, *decora* and fairy *kei* provide interesting examples of the use of *kawaii* by young people, and its relationship to pathways to adulthood.



Figure 1: Two *decora* practitioners and friend at a Harajuku Fashion Walk, 2013.
Image: © Kjeld Duits/JapaneseStreets.com; reproduced with permission.

⁵ It is important to note that not all stores associated with the alternative *kawaii* fashion that has emerged from Harajuku have a presence in the Harajuku area. At the time of writing this article, Spank! is located in Tokyo's Nakano area. Further research is needed on the significance of place and the movement of stores for alternative fashion associated with the Harajuku area.



Figure 2: Fairy-*kei* practitioner, 2011. Image: © Kjeld Duits/
JapaneseStreets.com; reproduced with permission.



Figure 2: *Decora* fashion practitioner, 2016. Image: © Haruka
Kurebayashi; reproduced with permission.

AN “ACT OF AVOIDANCE”? ALTERNATIVE *KAWAII* FASHION ASSOCIATED WITH THE HARAJUKU AREA, AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO CHILDHOOD AND ADULTHOOD, EXPERIENCE AND AFFECT

The study of *kawaii* fashion as it is understood and practiced by youth in Japan can be traced to Sharon Kinsella’s (1995) influential chapter “Cuties in Japan”. While Kinsella’s research was limited to the 1990s *kawaii* fashion phenomenon, it was one of the first studies to recognise *kawaii* culture as a valid site of scholarly research and her argument has since been considered in studies of *kawaii* more broadly by both Japanese and English-language scholars (see for instance Nittono 2013; Ihara and Nittono, 2011; Yano 2015). Her work has also influenced more recent studies of alternative *kawaii* fashion associated with the Harajuku area (see for instance Winge 2008; Lunning 2011; Monden 2015; Kawamura 2012; Steele et al. 2010) which reflect on the use of *kawaii* as a mode of resistance.

Kinsella’s canvassing of 1990s *kawaii* fashion was supported by an analysis of youth print media and a mixed-method survey of the Japanese public. It highlights the potential that *kawaii* offers young people as a means of exploring alternative pathways to adulthood, and as an outlet for creative expression. Kinsella argues that *kawaii* culture offers participants a means of “delaying” adulthood and its associated burdens (1995, 235). Kinsella’s study frames *kawaii* as a creative outlet for the individual, but one which also has disadvantages as it involves “acts of self-mutilation...acting stupid, and essentially denying the existence of a wealth of insights, feelings, and humour that maturity brings with it” (1995, 235). Her account places *kawaii* and maturity in opposition with each other, proposing that one cannot enjoy *kawaii* culture and at the same time act, feel and understand the world as an adult. In this conceptualisation, the use of *kawaii* culture by young people is a pause along a linear life journey, before one inevitably fulfils the social roles that demarcate adulthood.

Amelia Groom (2011) seeks to complicate Kinsella’s argument from a fashion studies perspective, drawing upon observational fieldwork of street fashion cultures in Harajuku conducted from 2006 to 2007 and Roland Barthes’ concepts of *dress* and *dressing* (see Barthes 2006). She argues that practitioners use alternative *kawaii* fashion associated with the Harajuku area to create a temporary escape from adult responsibility and that they exercise agency through appropriating objects as fashion items, thereby assigning them new meanings. In response to Kinsella’s claim, Groom writes that *kawaii* offers individuals an “everyday tactic of empowerment” in that it

offers a respite from the perceived banality of the adult world, and [sees] young women anxious about future subservience, obscurity and drudgery in married life fashion themselves like little girls as a tactic of avoidance.
(2011, 205)

Here, Groom implies that practitioners intend viewers to read their mode of dress as “child-like” or as a performance of “the little girl”, and that in doing so they are making a stand against mainstream adulthood. In this

account, the act of dressing in *kawaii* fashion is not one of “self-mutilation” as Kinsella suggests (1995, 235), but instead an expression of agency and resistance by refusing to partake symbolically in mainstream adult dress. However, if we pause and consider Groom’s conceptualisation of alternative *kawaii* fashion as a temporary escape, her use of “avoidance” also implies maladaptation or evasion of an issue which ought to be confronted. This echoes Kinsella’s conceptualisation of young people’s participation in *kawaii* culture as a “delay” that temporarily stops the inevitable rather than creating new potential futures where one has a choice not to get married or partake in a marriage that does not involve subservience or drudgery. As such, while this account presents alternative *kawaii* fashion as a form of resistance to social expectations, it stops short of suggesting that active subversion is taking place in the form of creating an alternative way of being an adult.

Another way of understanding the practices of fairy *kei* and *decora* lies in studies of Lolita fashion, which argue that alternative *kawaii* fashion associated with the Harajuku area presents a different way of living as an adult. Participants in these studies have been keen to discourage the view that they wish to appear like children or regress to an infantile state. An Nguyen (2016), in her qualitative study of Lolita fashion practitioners in Japan and Northern America, interprets alternative *kawaii* fashion not as an attempt

to change the institutions that constrain women but rather [as] an outright refusal of them. It is an endeavour to find meaning that lies outside the confines of work and marriage.

(26)

Rather than necessarily avoiding work and marriage, Nguyen argues that practitioners attempt to create additional experiences and insights that can occur alongside them. Theresa Younker (2011), in her study of Lolita fashion in Kyoto, Osaka and Kobe in 2010, similarly highlights the fierce independence which shapes the lives of *kawaii* fashion practitioners. Younker notes that while her participants may be “wrapped up in their own self-centred worlds”, they are also aware of the sacrifices they make to pursue their interest in fashion, in particular managing finances to support their hobby and choosing to work in creative industries that support their mode of dress (2011, 102). Here the use of *kawaii* is not conceptualised as avoidance of adulthood, but as part of a full and rich adult life. While these studies pertain specifically to Lolita fashion, this article aims to consider if this conceptualisation might also apply to the *decora* and fairy-*kei* subgenres.

One final way of conceptualising the relationship between alternative *kawaii* fashion and adulthood is the view that it is a process of segregation or removal. For instance, Masafumi Monden (2015), in his textual analysis of Lolita fashion, argues that *kawaii* enables wearers to “appear girlish and cute while being segregated from obvious sexualisation” (78). He characterises participation in alternative *kawaii* fashion associated with the Harajuku area as an attempt to disrupt the framing of women’s bodies as sexual objects, creating an alternative space in which to live one’s adult life. It is worth noting that Monden argues this point in the context of a broader discussion of

shōjo (少女; lit. ‘little woman’ or ‘little girl’) culture. *Shōjo* culture scholarship provides an interesting locus for interpreting alternative *kawaii* fashion associated with the Harajuku area. Thinkers such as Eiri Takahara (1999) and Masuko Honda (1982) argue that *shōjo* culture enables the individual to turn inward and indulge in the creative, the imaginary and the fantastic, as a refusal of social obligations. Takahara (1999) further characterises this self-indulgence as the freedom to pursue one’s own interests and as a response to gendered expectations. While Honda conceptualises *shōjo* culture as liminal and lived in the transition from girlhood to womanhood, Takahara argues that anyone can live or perform a *shōjo* disposition to the world. In this sense, the use of *kawaii* in *decora* and fairy *kei* could be conceptualised as an attempt to remove oneself from being categorised as a mainstream adult, through the construction of an entirely new category of being.

Literature also considers the appeal of alternative *kawaii* fashion associated with the Harajuku area to its practitioners, and the different experiences it may offer them compared with those available as a part of mainstream adulthood. Both Groom (2011) and Nguyen (2016) highlight the joy and wealth of experience that alternative *kawaii* culture associated with the Harajuku area offers practitioners. While characterising alternative *kawaii* fashion associated with the Harajuku area as child-like, Groom proposes that it offers participants a pleasurable activity. She emphasises the practices of shoppers in *Ura-Harajuku*, where “like children, [the practitioners] are spontaneous and un-inhibited in their dress up games” (2011, 206). As an example, Groom describes the activities of *decora* practitioners, “where masses of multifarious colourful plastic toys and objects dangle from bodies and clothes” (206). Overall, Groom’s analysis suggests that alternative *kawaii* fashion in Harajuku is a playful and creative exercise which creates a liminal space where the predictability of social scripts for adults can be temporarily re-written. She argues that this is central to the resistant nature of this community as an alternative culture centred on “uniqueness, eccentricity, spontaneity, vibrancy and playfulness” (205). As such, there appears to be potential for a rich and complex understanding of *kawaii* fashion in Harajuku as both expressive and personal, where feelings are not denied but rather explored and interpreted through play. In this article, I consider whether *decora* and fairy-*kei* practitioners might agree with Groom’s account, and if they view this behaviour as inherently childish or intended to imitate child-like play.

Nguyen (2016), in her exploration of Lolita fashion, circumvents characterising the pleasure in participating in alternative *kawaii* culture associated with the Harajuku area as childish through her use of sociologist Sarah Ahmed’s (2010) theory of ‘happy objects’. In theorising how emotion and affect influence the way we (as adults, youths and children alike) craft our lives, Ahmed argues that “Objects that give us pleasure take up residence within our bodily horizon” whereas objects we do not prefer are positioned “away” from us (2010, 24). Drawing on this, Nguyen argues that *kawaii* “is best understood as an affect that expresses an aesthetic, describing things one wants to be surrounded with or bring within reach” (2016, 23). According to this model, *kawaii* fashion practitioners select objects to wear based on the feelings they

experience towards them, including excitement, joy, pleasure and curiosity. However, the logic Ahmed and Nguyen present does not exclude the idea of delay or avoidance discussed above. This invites us to question: if alternative *kawaii* fashion associated with the Harajuku area involves gathering and wearing objects that bring joy, what objects do not bring joy, and are therefore “positioned away” from practitioners’ “bodily horizons” as Ahmed might suggest? Could they be the clothing worn by mainstream adults and the responsibilities they might represent? If so, does this present a form of resistance or denial of adulthood, or can this process be conceptualised as subversive? This article explores the experiential dimension of alternative *kawaii* fashion associated with the Harajuku area, and also consider the logic Nguyen puts forward in the context of *decora* and fairy *kei*.

In considering these questions, I seek to contribute to emerging scholarship that considers how *kawaii* can be experienced by adults in the Japanese context.⁶ Hiroshi Nittono (2013; 2016) and his collaborators (see Ihara and Nittono 2011; Kanai and Nittono 2015) have produced an extensive body of work in the behavioural sciences that explore how young adults respond to *kawaii* objects and subjects. They acknowledge that *kawaii* can evoke caregiving behaviours, which may link to the above discussions of *kawaii* as childish. However, they also find that *kawaii* objects motivate individuals to “get closer to the cute object and know it further” and “improve interpersonal relationships” (Nittono 2016, 90). Marie Aizawa and Minoru Ohno (2010) and Mika Nishimura (2019) have also suggested that *kawaii* culture in general has much to offer adults by encouraging them to be playful and creative as a form of self-care. Carolyn Stevens (2014), who reflects on the use of the *kawaii* character Rilakkuma by adults, also suggests that such figures offer “emotional equilibrium in the face of instability” (n.p.). Christine Yano (2015), in her exploration of Hello Kitty as a *kawaii* character and cultural phenomenon, suggests that women who enjoy *kawaii* culture appreciate the opportunity it offers to be both “cared for and the caregiver” (57). Together, this scholarship evokes a rich tapestry of experience for adults who enjoy *kawaii* culture with its interwoven themes of care, soothing, curiosity and play. As such, this article aims to consider how those who participate in *decora* and fairy-*kei* fashion might experience their use of *kawaii* objects.

GIVING VOICES TO “GIRLS WITH A SENSE OF AGENCY”: A CASE-FOCUSSED ANALYSIS APPROACH

Groom’s (2011) observational and textual analysis of street fashion in Harajuku reflects on the meaning of objects worn by those observed using a semiotics approach established by Roland Barthes. Barthes’ approach situates the researcher as an expert on the signs and signifiers of the culture

⁶ This research in the Japanese context also reflects similar work by overseas scholars exploring cute culture and the way we experience cute objects. Gary Sherman and Johnathan Haidt (2011) and Sianne Ngai (2012) explore the playful and creative aspects of cuteness, and their research has been incorporated into the work of Joshua Paul Dale et al. (2017), who explore the multifaceted nature of cuteness and its relationship to power and powerlessness. These texts highlight the role that Konrad Lorenz’s (1943; 1971) *Kinderschema* concept, which argues that “cute” physical traits present in infants are designed to evoke caregiving behaviours, plays in informing the assumption that both *kawaii* culture and cuteness only involve caregiving relationships. Sherman and Haidt (2011) and Ngai (2012) propose that there are other ways of experiencing cute objects, in particular through play.

they study, and as interpreter for the reader in detecting how these signifiers manifest in the phenomena studied. The limitation of this approach is that it cannot explore what practitioners themselves think, or what the subjective experience of dressing in *kawaii* clothing is like. Groom's analysis is imaginative and creative, informed by a long history of textual analysis in fashion studies and by Dick Hebdige's (1979) work on subcultures. However, the analytical strategy relies on the researcher-as-outsider's observations and interpretations rather than drawing on what practitioners report about themselves. Stanley Cohen offers a provocative question in his critique of this methodological approach: "this is, to be sure, an imaginative way of reading style; but how can we be sure that it is not also imaginary?" (1980, xv). More broadly, in treating women who enjoy *kawaii* culture as a 'text' to be studied, without seeking also to obtain their views, there is a risk that we as researchers infantilise the group we are concerned with. The etymology of the word 'infantile' can be traced back to the Latin '*infans*', which means 'unable to speak' (Hoad 2003). In not seeking the input of practitioners, we lose a valuable opportunity to allow them to speak for themselves. Monden (2015) argues that in studies of *kawaii* "the voices of girls with senses of agency and positive attitudes are frequently disregarded" (114). It is important to consider how we can avoid reproducing this structural inequality in our research.

One way of testing Groom's (2011) argument is by involving practitioners as participants in research. As previously discussed, Nguyen's (2016) use of qualitative interviews with Lolita fashion practitioners and Younker's (2011) ethnographic study of Lolita communities demonstrate the potential of this approach. Taking on Nguyen and Younker's use of semi-structured interviews, as well as their case-focused approach to analysis, provides an interesting opportunity to see whether Groom's semiotic analysis aligns with what practitioners report about their experiences. A case-focused approach involves selecting and analysing in depth the responses of specific participants to build a case study, rather than aiming to provide an overview of the common themes across all interviews conducted. This is recognised in qualitative social research as an effective way for authors and readers to explore the complexity of experience (Weiss 1994; Flvbjerg 2011). Case studies capture the richness and detail of lived experience in a way that thematic analysis, which provides an overview of common ideas across all interviews, cannot.

The case studies presented in this article are of two participants from a larger qualitative research project, conducted as part of my PhD research, that recruited n=17 alternative *kawaii* fashion practitioners associated with the Harajuku area to participate in semi-structured interviews between 2013 and 2015.⁷ I present a case study of a fairy-*kei* practitioner, referred to by her

⁷ The participants recruited for this study frequented Harajuku, and wore styles including Lolita fashion, *decora* fashion, fairy *kei* and *hime deco* [姫デコ]. *Hime deco* is a mode of dress characterised by pink lace, rhinestones, glitter and tiaras and has ties to both the *gyaru* and Harajuku fashion scenes. While some individuals still practice *hime deco*, including those interviewed for this research, this particular style has been in decline since 2014. The majority of participants were educated at a tertiary level, and were engaged in various modes of employment. One participant was a full-time student, a quarter of the sample worked casually for corporate employers unrelated to their fashion interests, and the remainder were self-employed models, designers and content producers working in the Harajuku scene. In one instance, a participant had successfully managed their own *kawaii* fashion business with multiple store fronts for 20 years. As the socio-economic status of the sample

preferred moniker Kumamiki, followed by a case study of a *decora* practitioner, who asked to be referred to as 48809. While Kumamiki's case study provides one example of how fairy-*kei* practitioners view the relationship between their practice and adulthood, 48809's case study explores the playful, creative and imaginative aspects of *decora* fashion.

The intention of these case studies is not to provide generalisable data to show definitively whether or not alternative *kawaii* fashion in Harajuku is intended to be child-like, infantile and playful practice. Rather, I take a phenomenological approach to exploring the everyday experiences of two specific individuals, with the intention of deepening our understanding of how *decora* and fairy-*kei* practitioners might view the relationship between their practice and adulthood. This is part of my broader ethical commitment as a researcher to elevate the voices of alternative *kawaii* fashion practitioners in Harajuku and treat them as "experts, at least in their own lives" (Frank 2010, 99). This position is in response to my observation that they are often spoken for and about by scholars, cultural critics, journalists and bloggers, but are rarely given the opportunity to speak for themselves. This approach is also embedded in interpretivist sociology, which was pioneered by Max Weber (1978 [1922]) and Georg Simmel (2009 [1908]) and involves examining the individual's experiences of the social, giving meaning to social action and acknowledging that these meanings are specific to the individual. Interpretivism relies on inductive analysis, whereby meaning and patterns are derived from the data collected, with an emphasis on the experiences of the research participants.

48809 and Kumamiki were recruited through a purposive sampling strategy as part of the wider research project, which means they were selected to participate in the research against set selection criteria, rather than chosen at random. Purposive sampling is beneficial in this type of qualitative research, as it ensures the recruitment of participants who are best positioned to answer the research questions set (Marshall 1996, 523; Emmel 2013, 64; Corbetta 2003, 211–12).⁸ Suitability was measured through selection criteria which sought participants who had been involved in alternative *kawaii* fashion for long enough to have experienced what it was like to gather and wear *kawaii* objects, and who had a commitment to deepening outsiders' understandings of their community.⁹ Semi-structured interviews with these practitioners ran for approximately 90 minutes and covered topics including the inspiration for their mode of dress, how their outfits were put together, the importance of *kawaii* fashion and what it means to them as practitioners. Interviews were conducted in the native language of the participants in order capture their views with a high degree of fluency. As both 48809 and Kumamiki's

is varied, this research cannot comment on linkages between class and *kawaii* fashion practitioners. Participants presented as cisgendered, however the sexuality of the participants was not discussed as it fell outside of the research scope. Further research would be needed to discuss both class and sexuality in the alternative *kawaii* fashion context.

⁸ Snowball sampling was also critical in locating suitable participants for screening against the selection criteria. This meant that I followed participants' recommendations to invite others to participate in the study. The study was advertised by linking to a recruitment webpage across social media platforms including Twitter, YouTube and the Japanese blogging website Ameblo.

⁹ The selection criteria stipulated that participants must frequent the Harajuku area, and also must have been: 1) involved in the *kawaii* fashion community for at least three years; 2) wearing or making *kawaii* fashion on a regular basis; and 3) actively contributing to the community through activities such as making, designing, modelling or organising events.

native language was Japanese, and I have only a limited command of the Japanese language, the interviews were conducted with the assistance of an interpreter. The interpreter was involved in alternative *kawaii* fashion in Harajuku and was thus familiar with the slang and manner of speech common to this community, which enabled the interviewees to speak without modifying their language. Further, this interpreter with a connection to the community was chosen with the additional aim of creating a collaborative space where alternative *kawaii* fashion practitioners associated with the Harajuku area might be more likely to trust me with their stories. A limitation of this approach overall, however, was that the language difference created a degree of distance between us. The interviews were transcribed in Japanese for analysis, but the selections presented in this paper have been translated into English.¹⁰

“I WANT PEOPLE TO WEAR WHAT THEY WANT TO WEAR”: KUMAMIKI, A FAIRY-KEI PRACTITIONER

Kumamiki was an influencer in Harajuku at the time of her interview in 2013 and had worn fairy *kei* for three years. Her mode of dress was frequently photographed and featured in street photography media such as *KERA* magazine. Kumamiki was studying at Bunka Fashion College in Tokyo, a school that attracts many designers interested in Harajuku fashion. Through her studies she developed a design practice centred around *kawaii* fashion in Harajuku. Today, Kumamiki is still an active influencer in the *kawaii* fashion community through self-produced social media. In her interview, Kumamiki provided rich detail regarding how she values hand-made accessories and clothing and sought to share this interest with others by posting instructional tutorials to social media. She discussed how she used relaxing thoughts and memories to inspire her designs, including breakfast foods. In general, the majority of Kumamiki’s accessories were created through the upcycling and customisation of plastic toys with decorations such as beads and lace which were then attached to jewellery findings such as ring bases and earring posts. In addition to sewing her own clothes, Kumamiki also sourced clothing from second-hand shops, such as babydoll dresses and tutu skirts, which she wore over blouses or t-shirts.

The philosophy behind Kumamiki’s mode of dress was that it enabled her to enjoy colourful and playful clothing as an adult, a practice she felt was not supported by ‘society’. Kumamiki (2013) explains as follows:

There’s a kind of social trend where adults must not wear childish or colourful things like this, but I want to ignore that kind of rule. I think even when you become an adult, you can wear anything you want...¹¹

Here Kumamiki describes dress as guided by social constructs. Her use of the phrase “social trend” implies that the perceived tendency of adults to not wear colourful clothes is part of what Kumamiki believes to be a social

¹⁰ The translations were provided courtesy of Dr. Anne Lee of The Japan Foundation, Sydney.

¹¹ 「大人になるとこういうカラフルなものとか子供っぽいものとか、つけちゃいけないみたいな、そういう社会の流れみたいなものがあるんだけど、私は、そういうのを無視して、大人になっても好きなものをつけていいじゃないかっていう気持ちを持っている…」

norm, which individuals follow out of a desire to belong. When pressed on the matter, Kumamiki concedes that adults do indeed have access to colourful clothes, but in her view they are for limited purposes—“underwear or pyjamas”—or are associated with a liminal period of time—“in spring, there is a boom of pastel colours”. Further, Kumamiki dismisses these clothing items as “largely austere”.¹² They lack the playfulness she finds in *kawaii* fashion. Kumamiki perceives adult clothing to be banal, a view which reflects Groom's (2011) hypothesis of why *kawaii* fashion might be attractive to practitioners in Harajuku. She describes her decision to wear what she wants in terms of ignoring pressure to conform and following an alternative path. In this sense, her clothing gives her some perceived freedom from societal pressures.

The colourful clothing then becomes an expression of freedom, but does it also express a desire to be a child? Kumamiki provides the following clarification:

It's not that I want to stay a child. I've become an adult, but when I was a child, I thought adults were boring. When I saw stuff like boring-looking salarymen on trains, I thought that I didn't want to be that kind of adult. I didn't want to grow up, and wanted to stay a child, but in the process of growing up I've met many interesting adults. They are kind of like children at heart, where they can freely express what they like and think is interesting. Even after becoming adults, they like what they like. So, even though I'm an adult, I've come to think that when I make things or wear this kind of fashion, I want people to be able to clearly say what they like and wear what they want to wear. I'm expressing that it's okay to have that kind of freedom in my daily life.¹³
(2013)

In this excerpt Kumamiki decisively states that she does not want to remain a child, emphasising her discomfort with this view of her dress. In her description of her childhood memory of salarymen on the train, we are given the impression that she views her past anxiety about becoming a “boring” (つまらない) adult as childlike or simplistic. As a child, the world around her was shaped by what she knew, which at that time was passengers on her commute. Becoming an adult enabled her to gain a more nuanced view of adulthood. It is also interesting to note that Kumamiki describes the passengers as “boring” but then does not provide more detail other than that they are male company employees. How does she know they are boring? Is she perhaps projecting her own disapproval as a child onto them? Furthermore, there is a lack of other adult figures in this anecdote, such as university students, women (employed or otherwise) and the elderly. What generalisation about adults do these salarymen represent? If we examine the latter half of

12 「…大人用のパステルカラーのものってアンダーウェアとかパジャマばかり。なんかブームとかで、時々、春になったらパステルとか出ることはあるけれど、パステルカラーでもラインが大人っぽいかわいさを感じが多いと思います。売ってるものでパステルカラーのものって、大人のものはもっと渋い物が多い。」

13 「子供でいたいんじゃないって、私は大人になったけど、大人ってつまらないものだと思っていて、電車に乗ってるサラリーマンとかすごいつまらない感じで電車に乗ってたりとか、そういう大人にはなりたくないって思っていて。だから昔は子供でいたい、大人になりたくないって思っていたんだけど、だけど自分が実際に大人になる過程の中で、やっぱり面白い大人の人に出会うことが多くて、そういう人たちって子供の心っていうか面白いものは素直に面白いとか好きなものは好きなんだっていうのを表現していて、大人になっても好きなものは好きでいいじゃんっていうのがあって。だから私が自分が物を作ったりこういうファッションをしたりして表現したいのは、私は大人だけど、好きなものは堂々と好きだって言うし、身に着きたいものは身に着けるっていう、そういう自由があってもいいじゃないっていうのを私の生活の中で表現しています。」

Salaryman (サラリーマン) is a Japanese term for male company employees.

her answer, we can see that she views adults who can “express what they like” (好きなんだっていうのを表現していて) as still possessing the freedom that salarymen have apparently lost. In this sense, Kumamiki’s anecdote of the salarymen on the train reflects Groom’s (2011, 205) remark about *kawaii* being a form of resistance to the “subservience, obscurity and drudgery” of adult life. Salarymen are depicted as depressed by the servitude of employment which is not necessarily aligned with their own personal interests. It is interesting to note that Groom specifically puts forward an argument premised on gender, claiming that *kawaii* fashion practitioners are resisting the negative features of womanhood (motherhood and marriage), whereas Kumamiki’s account is framed around conformity and employment, placing herself in opposition to masculine archetypes as opposed to their feminine counterparts. This perhaps suggests that for some *kawaii* fashion practitioners, normative markers of adulthood move beyond the gendered kinship roles Groom describes and instead provide opportunities to create alternative adult pathways that transcend gender norms.

Kumamiki does not view her clothing as an outright rejection of adulthood. Rather, she views her *kawaii* outfits as part of a way of living as an adult outside the mainstream. She identifies as an adult who speaks and dresses freely, and arguably uses this as a way of expressing her maturity. Kumamiki views the typical salaryman as an adult who denies himself the ability to express his interests or feelings, which is an inversion of Kinsella’s account. Rather than seeing mainstream adulthood as offering a range of insights and experiences, Kumamiki views it as a way of living that denies the fullness of life. In short, in practicing her chosen form of alternative *kawaii* fashion, Kumamiki seeks to distinguish herself from normative models of adulthood, rather than seeking to become a child. In social psychology, this phenomenon is captured through Optimal Distinctiveness Theory, which holds that individuals seek to balance feelings of belonging and individual expression (Brewer 2003; Leonardelli et al. 2010). They seek a ‘middle ground’ between states of assimilation and distinctiveness, opting to identify with groupings that allow for an optimal combination of individuality and acceptance. Kumamiki identifies with the grouping of ‘adults’ but wants to distinguish herself inside that category as an ‘alternative adult’. In this regard, she is not trying to avoid or delay adulthood, but rather to find ways to participate in adult life that differ from the mainstream.

Kumamiki’s case does indicate a kind of personal resistance, as Groom (2011) suggests, but rather than seeking to appear as a ‘little girl’ to avoid adulthood, Kumamiki explores what alternative expressions of adulthood in the Japanese context could look like. Kumamiki holds the view that children, unlike adults, are afforded the freedom to like, think and feel with abandon. Of course, this is a matter of perspective. Kumamiki cannot possibly have access to the interior experiences of these other individuals, just her own perception of them. This case partially confirms Groom’s observation that *kawaii* constitutes a form of resistance to the banality of adult life. However, Kumamiki makes an important distinction: although she wishes to escape the perceived banality of adulthood, she does not want to extend her childhood. Instead, she wants freedom to be afforded by society to both children *and* adults alike.

“I STARTED ADDING THINGS, LIKE A BRACELET HERE, AND IT WENT ON...”: 48809, A *DECORA* FASHION PRACTITIONER

48809 has participated in alternative *kawaii* fashion associated with Harajuku since age 16. She is a *dokusha moderu* (読者モデル; lit., ‘reader model’) for *KERA* magazine and is widely recognised in the *decora* fashion scene.¹⁴ As a *dokusha moderu*, 48809 frequently offered makeup and fashion tutorials for *KERA* during its time in publication (1998–2017). She now runs a highly popular social media channel. She is frequently hired as a professional model for designer labels affiliated with Harajuku, has made a series of television appearances in Japan and overseas, and is invited to attend pop culture conventions internationally.¹⁵ At the time of interview in 2013, 48809 was in her early twenties and was employed part-time as a graphic designer alongside her contract-based modelling work, which she used to support herself while living independently in Tokyo. 48809 discussed in detail her interest in *kawaii* culture and the way in which her fashion enables her to express a sense of originality.

48809 identifies a range of fantasies that inform her process of dressing, the primary one being centred around the 1980s. Having been born after this period, 48809 actively imagines what this time was like with curiosity and incorporates American vintage clothing and toys from the time into her outfits. 48809 relates her interest in the 1980s in the following:

Author: Do you like 1980s fashion?

48809: I like it a lot. I like it so much that I often look up old stuff on the internet.

Author: Why do you like it?

48809: In the 1980s, things such as the internet and mobile phones did not exist. But looking at that period, it’s very eccentric and odd compared to today, including the shapes and colours of things. It all has a very strange feeling.

Author: Why American? Why not Japanese?

48809: I like Japanese, too. But in Japan in the 1980s things that boys like such as robots were popular, which wasn’t to my taste.¹⁶

(2013)

Here 48809’s fantasy relates to a particular time and place, but it is a fictional one, imagined by a young woman in Japan who was not born in that era. Her fantasy world could exist in Japan or the West, and it exists in a timeline where the internet never came to fruition and where 1980s aesthetics never fell out of fashion. This time period, where analogue technology such as VHS and cassette tapes flourished, jars with her everyday experience of digital

¹⁴ A *dokusha moderu* is an amateur fashion model who is scouted to appear in print or website publications from a pool of readers and is intended to represent the everyday reader and consumer.

¹⁵ The specific social media channels, television shows and conventions 48809 has appeared in have been redacted to maintain her anonymity.

¹⁶ Author: 80年代のファッションは好きですか？

48809: すごく好き。昔のものは結構自分でパソコンとかで調べて見るくらい好き。

Author: 好きな理由は？

48809: 今よりも、例えばインターネットがなかった、携帯がなかったっていう、そういう時代なのに、その時代から見るとだいぶ奇抜で、変わった形をしてる。フォルムもそうだし色もそうだし、なんだか不思議な感じがします。

Author: なぜアメリカなんですか？日本の80年代は好みではない？

48809: 日本も好きだけど、日本はどちらかというと80年代はロボットとか男の子が好きそうな物が流行ってたから私の好みではなかった。

technology in Tokyo, and present mysteries from a recent history almost forgotten. The fantasy does not just present a new way of life for 48809, but a “strange” (不思議な) one full of “eccentric” forms (変わった形). 48809 can never visit and experience the 1980s as it was, but she can unearth old clothing and objects like archaeological artefacts and give them new life as part of her fashion practice. It is also interesting to note 48809’s specific interests. She prefers ‘American’ technology, rather than that which is synonymous with the boom in robot-related franchises in 1980s Japan. She aspires to be closer to the time and place that she admires through the process of appropriating objects into her clothing. What she perceives as the spectacular nature of the 1980s presents itself as an escape from the mundane, and an opportunity to carve out an exciting and creative life and identity for herself.

48809’s process of dressing does not just reflect this thought process, it also involves the playfulness that Groom describes. Through the creative arrangement of shapes and textures, contrasting colours and unusual toys turned into hair clips or bags, 48809 finds pleasure in putting outfits together. She offers insight into her creative process:

Author: Why did you decide to wear *decora* fashion?

48809: There was not a specific moment when I decided to wear *decora*. I always wore things I liked, but I slowly began to think, “oh, I look a bit plain today”. So, I started adding things, like a bracelet here, and it went on and on until I arrived at this point.¹⁷

(2013)

In this account, 48809 enjoys layering things that she likes. Once she becomes accustomed to what she wears, additional objects are added to rejuvenate the feeling of creativity and ‘newness’ and allow her to re-experience fascination and curiosity.

While 48809’s story is just one of many, this case study suggests an understanding of *kawaii* fashion as a reflective and playful process. We can see that 48809 plays with *kawaii* fashion as part of a reflection on her identity. It is an activity filled with insight, feelings and humour in terms of the imaginings associated with it and the playful nature of dressing. Further, we can see that the personal meaning of the objects worn is more important than their communicative value. This suggests a slightly different process of assigning meaning to objects from that which Groom proposes. The worn objects have personal meanings specific to the wearer which she alone is privy to, and which elude the viewer. This indicates that studies of alternative *kawaii* fashion which view and analyse practitioners’ appearances solely from an observer’s perspective may not consider these personal meanings, and therefore may arrive at incomplete understandings of the significance of the practice for the practitioners themselves.

¹⁷ Author: デコラファッションを着てみようと思った理由は何ですか？

48809: いつからしようっていうのはなくて、いつも好きで着てた物がだんだん、あっ、ちょっと今日地味かも？って思い出して、ちょっとずつ足していった。今日はブレスレットとか、どんどん足していったらこうなりました。

In this article, I have explored the extent to which women who participate in *decora* and *fairy-kei* fashion may or may not view their mode of dress as a child-like, infantile and playful practice. In doing so, I situated *decora* and *fairy-kei* within a broader discussion of the significance and implications of young people in Japan using alternative *kawaii* fashion associated with the Harajuku area to navigate pathways to adulthood. To contribute to this discussion, I conducted a case study analysis of Kumamiki, a *fairy-kei* practitioner, and 48809, a *decora* fashion practitioner, who were participants in a larger qualitative project exploring alternative fashion practitioners associated with Harajuku. In my analysis, I have responded to Groom's (2011) argument that alternative *kawaii* fashion in Harajuku is a playful, child-like practice which is used as an avoidance of adulthood. Both case studies highlight the wealth of experience and reflection involved in creating and wearing their fashion, and the joy and playfulness it brings to the everyday lives of the practitioners.

Drawing upon a case study of Kumamiki, a *fairy-kei* practitioner, I have argued that not all practitioners in the Harajuku context view their fashion as childish, and that at least some see it as a different way of living as an adult. Through 48809's case study, I have highlighted how *decora* can act as a springboard for imaginatively exploring new and different possibilities of living. My findings support Groom's (2011) argument, but add further nuance with regards to how participants conceptualise the relationship between alternative *kawaii* fashion and adulthood. In this specific context, the use of *kawaii* by adults is shown to have the potential to bring a sense of creativity, happiness and play to their everyday lives. Rather than denying adult thoughts and feelings as Kinsella (1995) suggests, *decora* and *fairy-kei* fashion provide these practitioners with a chance to explore them, focussing on what they do and do not want in their adult lives and on what inspires them to be creative. This aligns with Nguyen's (2016) argument and usage of Ahmed's (2010) 'happy objects' concept, which contends that practitioners bring closer to them the things that bring them joy and push away the things that do not. The idea that *kawaii* objects can inspire creativity in this context adds to emerging literature that documents the experience of *kawaii* more broadly as a playful and creative outlet for adults (Nittono 2016; Aiwaza and Ohno 2010; Nishimura 2019; Stevens 2014; Yano 2015). These two case studies do not suggest that *kawaii* is about being cared for or giving care, but rather highlight the role of *kawaii* as a source of play and enjoyment for alternative *kawaii* fashion practitioners affiliated with the Harajuku area.

The case studies offer insights into how *decora* and *fairy-kei* practitioners view their own practice, as examples of the many subgenres associated with alternative *kawaii* fashion in the Harajuku area. Further research that documents and captures *kawaii* fashion practitioners' own views and experiences would serve well to ground some of the more abstract theoretical debates about *kawaii* resistance, agency and creativity. We need more research that incorporates the voices of women who enjoy *kawaii* culture, in order to complement studies that rely on observation and visual analysis

alone. Further research into the relationship between alternative *kawaii* fashion and gender—specifically, womanhood—would also add further nuance to this debate, especially as much of the literature I have focused on explores the binary of child/adult rather than girl/woman. Overall, a commitment to elevating the voices of these young women in research is key to considering how alternative *kawaii* culture enables practitioners to reimagine their futures and bring play and joy to their adult lives.

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APPENDIX: LIST OF INTERVIEWS

48809. 2013. Interview by author. Digital recording in Japanese. July 19.
 Kumamiki. 2013. Interview by author. Digital recording in Japanese. July 18.

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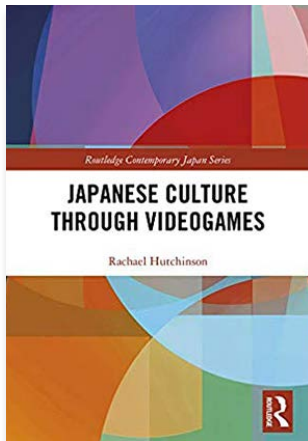
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Japanese Culture through Videogames



RACHAEL HUTCHINSON.

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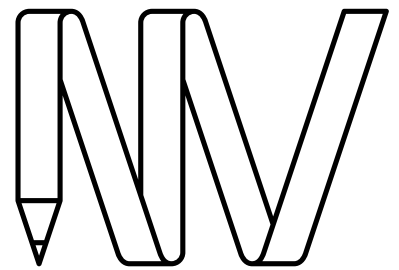
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KEYWORDS

anime; contemporary; game media; popular culture

As evident from Rachael Hutchinson's self-description in the introduction of *Japanese Culture Through Videogames*, in which she names herself both "a gamer and an academic in the field of Japanese Studies" (8), the aim of this monograph is to bridge the gap between the fields of Japanese and game studies. Hutchinson notes that, while many of the games she analyses have already been studied at length, Western analysts have long neglected to read these texts as "games about Japan" (11). Her argument is that these two fields have much to offer each other, and should both place more of a focus on games as Japanese texts. Hutchinson has written on this subject before, noting in the acknowledgments that three chapters build on her previous work, and a number of her other publications appear in the book's bibliography.

After an introduction, the book is divided into three sections of three chapters each. The first part, "Japanese Culture as Playable Object", is concerned largely with how Japanese games package Japan for popular consumption. This section begins with a chapter on *Katamari Damacy* [2004], a game about rolling objects into an increasingly large ball, set against backdrops such as a traditional Japanese home and a rural town. *Katamari*, unlike many other Japanese pop-cultural exports, does not attempt to minimise its Japaneseness,



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which Hutchinson plays off against Iwabuchi's (2004) arguments about cultural odourlessness and the idea that Japanese popular media markets itself by deliberately obscuring its origins. Rather, *Katamari* revels in particularly Japanese aesthetics of space and culture, marketing "Japan itself as a cultural object" for consumption both locally and abroad (43). The next chapter shifts focus from space to time and looks at *Ōkami* [2006], a game that packages Japan's past through a narrative that riffs on the country's mythology. Yet, Hutchinson argues, any framing of the past is inherently ideological—and by framing Japan through its mythology, the game perpetuates a myth of its own that the country is a "homogenous, easily commodified nation" (66). The first section concludes with a chapter on a range of fighting game series, mainly *Street Fighter* [1987–2020] and *Tekken* [1994–2017], to investigate how the Japanese 'self' is constructed against a (nearly always American) 'other'.

The book's second section, "Ideology and Critique in Japanese Games", turns more specifically to how social issues in Japan have been explored through games. The fourth chapter looks at family structures in the Japanese role-playing game (JRPG) genre, and particularly at how the common trope of protagonists with dead or absent parents stems from the real-world breakdown of the family unit. The fifth chapter follows on by focusing on the JRPG series *Final Fantasy* [1987–2020], noting how it comments on nuclear issues through allegories about dangerous technology. Unfortunately, this chapter cuts off shortly after raising its most interesting point: that the nature of Japan's nuclear anxieties has shifted since the 2011 Fukushima disaster, from centring on "the American other to the Japanese Self" (147), and that the nuclear allegories in *Final Fantasy* have also shifted accordingly. The third chapter in this section extends the theme of nuclear discourse, but marries it with a discussion about bioethics and genetic manipulation, playing various *Final Fantasy* titles against games from the *Metal Gear* [1987–2018], *Tekken* and *Resident Evil* [1996–2020] series. Hutchinson's argument here is that both issues centre around anxieties about the nuclear—"genetic manipulation in the human body, and the unleashing of nuclear power"—and therefore draw on themes such as ethics and responsibility (173).

In the book's final section, "History, Memory, and Re-Imagining War", Hutchinson turns to the way that Japanese games contribute to discourses around war, violence and colonialism. The seventh chapter is perhaps the book's most convincing, and certainly the one which ties together its arguments most satisfyingly. It compares Japanese games about war to Western games about war, pointing out key differences in both genre and thematic treatment. While Western games about war tend to be gritty, realistic shooters set during or after the twentieth century, Japanese games about war tend to both belong to other genres, and take place centuries in the past.

Hutchinson argues that these marked differences stem from the very different outcomes for Japan and the Allies in World War II, rendering the theme of modern warfare "extremely problematic" in the Japanese context (189). The book's last two chapters examine, respectively, the legacy of Hiroshima in the *Metal Gear* series, and the way that Japan's colonial history (especially in regard to Korea) is obscured in a number of titles.

The book has a wide scope, but it also has a number of shortcomings, more significantly on the game studies side. Perhaps most prominently, Hutchinson chooses to focus almost exclusively on big-name Japanese games, which have all been discussed at length in both Japan and the West, in game studies and journalism, since their releases. This is especially significant since many of Hutchinson's key case studies—most prominently, *Metal Gear Solid* [1998], *Final Fantasy VII* [1997] and a slew of fighting game series such as *Street Fighter*—are not new games, but date from the 1990s. Although there can certainly be value in continuing to approach such staples of the videogame canon over two decades later, Hutchinson's analysis of these titles often does not feel incisive enough to justify re-treading such well-worn ground, regardless of the author's new perspective from Japanese studies.

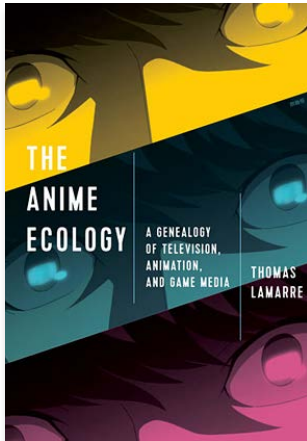
This shortcoming is further enhanced by the nature of Hutchinson's game studies analysis. In her first chapter, the author situates her analysis within the ludology versus narratology debate in game studies. One of her early footnotes sums up the argument as taking place between narratologists, who privilege "a narrative reading of games", and ludologists, who privilege "the gameplay aspects of an algorithmic text", and concludes that it is now broadly accepted that narrative and gameplay should be studied together (43). Although this is an important piece of context for this book as a game studies work, Hutchinson does not treat these aspects equally in her analysis. I am no ludologist, but the arguments presented in this book often skew disproportionately towards the narratological, and the arguments about how these games play (and feel to play) are both fewer and less convincing than the narrative ones.

For these reasons, this book is likely to prove more useful to scholars of Japanese studies than to scholars interested in games. However, it should prove interesting reading for anyone curious about how Japanese games, despite being marketed to a worldwide audience, are nevertheless crucial artistic sites for discourse around social and political issues affecting Japan.

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The Anime Ecology: A Genealogy of Television, Animation, and Game Media



THOMAS LAMARRE.

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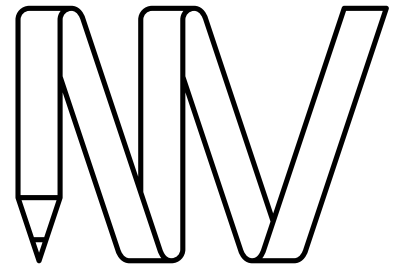
 <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6959-2978>

KEYWORDS

anime; contemporary; game media; infrastructure; interdisciplinarity; Japaneseness; media; popular culture; technology; television; transmediality

Anime studies has been a site of growing scholarly attention since the late 20th century, when Japanese animation became widely relished across the globe. In Japan, scholars such as Eiji Ōtsuka and Tamaki Saitō have looked at how anime reflects or reshapes contemporary social and cultural landscapes. In anglophone scholarship, anime studies was a subfield in Japanese studies or media studies until recent decades, when scholars such as Thomas Lamarre, Susan J. Napier and Marc Steinberg began making inspiring contributions to establish it as a challenging and stimulating new academic field.

The Anime Ecology: A Genealogy of Television, Animation, and Game Media (2018) is Thomas Lamarre's second book on anime studies. It examines how anime intersects and interacts with television and game media in the context of Japan. Seeking to understand the massive and complex transformations in television over recent decades, Lamarre proposes using animation as a starting point to map out a rigorous and complex history of television, the notion of which spans "platforms, content, infrastructures, as well as modes of reception, transmission, production, and serialization" (3). Lamarre eschews the post-television perspective adopted by some scholars from North America



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New Voices in Japanese Studies,
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and Europe who emphasise the decline or discontinuity of television as a media platform. Drawing on Raymond Williams' television studies as well as philosophers such as Deleuze and Guattari, Lamarre offers a theoretical approach to addressing the productive aspects of television's distribution within the framework of a media ecology. His analysis reveals possibilities for television, animation and game media to interconnect synergistically with diverse cultures and disciplines, uniting cultural studies and science and challenging them to delineate a more nuanced picture of the transformations and effects of the media mix.

A major concern of this book is how television "works through and acts with animation" (9), or more specifically, Japanese animation, which is "commonly particularized and grouped under the loose heading 'anime'" (Lamarre 2009, ix). The book is divided into three parts. In Part 1, Lamarre uses the Pokémon incident as a springboard to interrogate the effects of television and animation on viewers. The Pokémon incident was an event that took place on December 16, 1997, when approximately 700 children across Japan experienced epileptiform seizures after watching an episode of the animated series Pokémon. Neurologists traced the cause of this incident to a 12-hertz red-blue flicker displayed during the program. However, Lamarre cautions that it might be premature to explain the incident based on neuroscientific findings alone, or to draw the conclusion that television and screen media alone cause brain damage or trigger addiction. He argues that neurological studies which attempt to reveal how the human brain is affected by television and other screen-based media fail to address the complex issue of how human activities or cultures modify and are modified by the media mix. Over the course of Part 1, Lamarre illustrates this by articulating that television, animation and game media do not simply belong to the realm of technology; they are "technosocial assembling" (7), where social and cultural values mingle and cooperate with technology. As N. Katherine Hayles reminds us, humans and technologies are "undergoing coordinated transformations" (Hayles 2012, 81); this has seen a blurring and merging of their respective boundaries, the implications of which are still coming to light and are yet to be fully understood. In line with this, Lamarre suggests that the Pokémon incident may be symptomatic of more complex interactions than any single discipline can explain.

Lamarre furthers the discussion of the "transmedial dimensions" (116) of television in Part 2, turning his gaze again to Japan. Recalling how the imperial wedding between then Crown Prince Akihito and Michiko Shōda in 1959 boosted sales of television sets, Lamarre reminds his readers how television sets and broadcasting were used as a way of unifying Japan and rebuilding its image domestically after its defeat in World War II. He argues that the intensive building of television infrastructure after the 1950s produced "Japaneseness" by "bringing people throughout Japan into the same homogeneous temporality" (127). A "one-to-many" (35) distributive mode was thus established in Japan with the centralisation and nationalisation of television broadcasting. However, Lamarre seeks to disrupt the common conception of the "one to many" mode as monolithic. He gives the example of how television programs target different audiences in different time slots, showing that television broadcasting also manifests the 'point-to-point'

tendency which is considered a distinct feature of new media by scholars who contend that television has been subsumed by new media. Lamarre further shows that plug-in devices such as VCRs, DVDs and home video game consoles, along with animated contents and characters, have transformed television into a more segmented, individualised and privatised media platform. Television, he argues, is not being replaced by new media but is instead becoming a powerful part of new media.

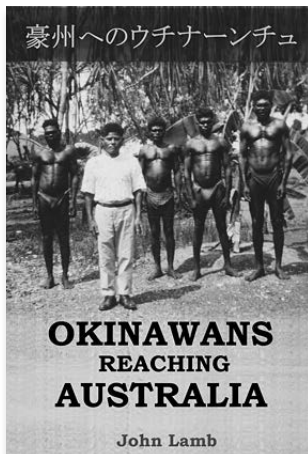
In the third and final part of the book, Lamarre scrutinises the psychological relationship that viewers and players have with television as a platform in their encounters with animation and video games. The interrelation between anime and television contributes to a phenomenon of what Lamarre calls “platformativity.” According to his definition, platformativity describes the state where anime characters and television media interact with viewers, users and players. Lamarre demonstrates this phenomenon by examining four household television media systems, or ‘media ecologies’: ‘The Family Broadcast Complex’, ‘The Home Theatre Complex’, ‘The Game Play Complex’ and ‘The Portable Interface Complex’. Through these case studies, he shows that television animation’s “production of distribution” (211) has been creating an immersive individualised space where viewers and players are absorbed and transformed into characters. This increasing immersivity, he argues, has fuelled the growing phenomenon of media addiction. Lamarre insists that we should contemplate the profound effects that television animation and game media might be having on users as they increasingly “affect conduct in real world” (343) due to mass production resulting from capitalistic drive. He calls for a rethink of media addiction as something more complex than an individual neurophysiological response to stimulus. He urges for more interdisciplinary analysis of how and why television animation and game media have been produced in order to let consumers immerse—or even lose—themselves in this environment, with the ultimate aim of better understanding the implications for users.

Lamarre brings a tight focus to a wide range of related perspectives, from the neurological and biological sciences to the humanities and social sciences. This book’s rigorous engagement with Japanese television and animation makes it a ground-breaking contribution to Japanese studies. Scholars and students who are interested in manga, animation and other aspects of Japanese popular culture will find *The Anime Ecology* more than satisfactory. It will also be of great benefit to audiences in the fields of television and cinema studies, new media studies, culture studies and social studies.

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Okinawans Reaching Australia



JOHN LAMB

Hesperian Press, 2019.

133 pages.

ISBN 9780859057479.

Reviewed by

Shannon Whiley

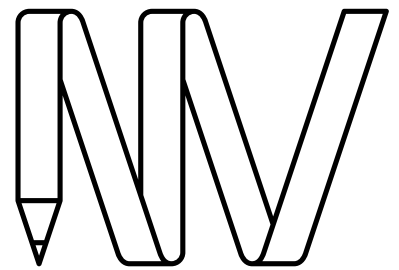
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KEYWORDS

Australia; diaspora; history; immigration; Japanese Australian; Nikkei; Okinawa; pearling industry; post-war; World War II; White Australia Policy

The history of Japanese immigration in Australia remains an area that is not widely known. As a result of the White Australia Policy, only a relatively small number of Japanese had immigrated to Australia by the time of World War II, and many of their stories are yet to be explored. In *Okinawans Reaching Australia*, John Lamb seeks to bring light to Japanese immigration history by delving into the records of Okinawans who lived and worked in Australia at the height of the pearling industry. Building on his previous work, *Silent Pearls: Old Japanese Graves in Darwin and the History of Pearling* (2015), which examined Japanese workers in the Australian pearling industry prior to World War II, Lamb has produced a meticulously researched account of the history of Okinawan immigration to Australia in the early-to-mid twentieth century. *Okinawans Reaching Australia* draws on archival documents to build a detailed picture of the early Okinawan presence in Australia which is largely focused on the pearling communities of Darwin, Thursday Island and Broome.

Lamb seeks to identify the Okinawans who came to Australia between 1905, when the first known Okinawan arrived in Australia, and the 1960s, when many returned to Japan following the decline of the pearling industry. The



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book is structured chronologically, covering the early pre-war migration, war-time internment and post-war return of Okinawan citizens. As the pre-war Okinawan community in Australia was comparatively small, the book focuses on the circumstances of Okinawans' arrival and employment in Australia after the war. The Okinawans chronicled in the book are all men. They generally worked in Australia as indentured labourers on fixed-term contracts for pearling companies and were granted temporary admission to Australia within the framework of the White Australia Policy. Pearling was dangerous and had long relied heavily on non-white indentured immigrants; notably, it was "the only industry to be exempted from the Immigration Restriction Act of 1901" (Martínez 2005, 127), which was the centrepiece of the White Australia Policy. Japanese pearlers, including Okinawans, made up the largest national group of labourers in Broome and on Thursday Island, and were considered to be strong workers (Sissons 2016, 9).

Lamb's book examines the politics of Okinawan immigration to Australia. It highlights the part that Okinawan workers played in re-opening Australia to Japanese immigration after World War II, showing that the Australian government differentiated Okinawa from the rest of Japan to allow immigration to resume. This was seen by the Australian government as an attractive solution to an inconvenient problem: it was hesitant to allow Japanese immigration but faced pressure from the domestic pearling industry due to its reliance on the skilled labour of Japanese pearlers. Ultimately, the Australian government preferenced Okinawans but agreed to allow limited entry to pearlers "from the Ryukyu Islands or Japan" (Lamb 2019, 40) due to a variety of reasons including the pearling industry's established connections with regions outside Okinawa (namely, Wakayama). As a result, mainland Japanese labourers ended up arriving first, but some of the groundwork for their return was laid by the Australian government's efforts to allow entry to Okinawans specifically.

One of the highlights of *Okinawans Reaching Australia* is the range of high-quality photographs included throughout. Lamb has collected extensive photographic records of fishing vessels and divers at work, as well as a near comprehensive set of portraits of the Okinawan workers. The cover image in particular, which depicts Okinawan diver Kinjō Anki with four Tiwi men in 1932, is a great visual representation not only of early Okinawan experiences in Australia, but also of a diverse Australia under the White Australia Policy. Images, diagrams and descriptions of pearling vessels and equipment are used to give a clear indication of the work that Okinawan immigrants performed in Australia and the working conditions they experienced. These are complemented by profiles of individual Okinawan labourers that depict their lives and expeditions as pearlers. This dimension of the book brings the Okinawan pearlers to life, and is well suited to the large, A4 format.

The early chapters of *Okinawans Reaching Australia* contextualise these stories with a broad examination of Japanese immigration to Australia against the backdrop of the White Australia Policy and World War II. While there were only 16 known Okinawans living in Australia at the outbreak of World War II, 245 Okinawan residents of South Pacific island nations were

brought to Australia for internment during the war. Their inclusion in the book is an important acknowledgement of pre-war Japanese emigration to the South Pacific. The internees were returned to Japan following the war, and no Okinawans are known to have been allowed to remain in Australia after the last were repatriated in 1946. However, later chapters reveal that some were eventually able to return as indentured labourers, including Kinjō Anki, who in 1955 was one of the first Okinawans to arrive after Japanese labourers were permitted to return post-World War II.

Chapter 4 examines this post-war re-introduction of Japanese and Okinawan immigration and delves into the political difficulties of re-establishing the pearling industry after the war. Lamb argues that the admission of indentured Japanese pearlers to post-war Australia was revived due to a push from the local pearling industries, which had suffered from a shortage of skilled labour. However, three main factors stalled and limited the admission of Japanese to Australia: anti-Japanese sentiment within Australia, Japanese fears of competition with its own pearling industry, and territorial issues stemming from Australia's claim to the Arafura Sea off the northern coast of Australia (an area Japan had used for its own pearling prior to World War II). It was these factors, Lamb asserts, that led Australia to seek cooperation from the post-war US Administration in Okinawa to provide indentured workers for its pearling industry.

Chapters 5, 6 and 7 focus on the post-war pearling industry in Darwin, Broome and Thursday Island respectively, outlining when Okinawan divers returned to each region. Broome, which had had positive experiences with Japanese labourers and an integrated Asian community prior to the war, was the first to allow labourers from Japan to return. Although Okinawans were requested as a preference, time constraints and alleged falsities about the availability and performance of Okinawan labourers led to labourers initially being recruited from mainland Japan from March 1953. Darwin, seeing the successful re-introduction in Broome but having a population with much stronger anti-Japanese sentiment, became the first location to recruit Okinawans after the war, beginning in August 1955. In these chapters, Lamb incorporates detailed information on the pearling companies and the individual Okinawans who worked for them, making it both an excellent reference for historians and an interesting insight into how the pearling industry operated.

These later chapters also look at the broader picture of immigration and industry politics, utilising archival records. Pearling industry figures attributed the industry's eventual decline to the alleged unsuitability of Okinawan labourers to pearl diving. However, these chapters put forth evidence that this assessment was largely spread by those with vested interests in indentured labour from mainland Japan, including pre-war businessmen who sourced indentured labourers and had established connections on the mainland. Rather, Lamb attributes the lack of early success by post-war Okinawan pearlers to factors such as insufficient knowledge of the specific locations of production beds, a natural decline of the industry due to depletion of resources, and reduced demand following the spread of plastic buttons. To illustrate this, the book draws on quotations and photographs

of original government cablegrams and correspondence between master pearlers, pearlers' associations, Australian and Japanese government ministers, ambassadors and other parties associated with recruiting pearlers.

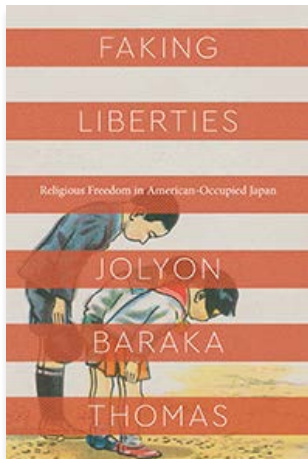
Okinawans in Australia opens new avenues for further research into Japanese-Australian history. Lamb identifies two pearl divers from Thursday Island, Senshū Arakawa and Kyōzō Hirakawa, who were still alive at the time of the book's publication, and the latter still lives on Thursday Island. There may be other angles from which to further explore the stories of these individuals and those of other early Okinawan immigrants to Australia, including experiences outside the pearling industry or in more recent contexts. There may also be further research opportunities in looking into the Australian government's efforts to distinguish Okinawan immigration as separate from Japanese, and whether this had any impact on other industries and aspects of post-war immigration from Japan. As Lamb himself writes in the postscript, this in-depth examination may mark "the beginning of a new exploration of the stories of these men" (100).

Okinawans Reaching Australia serves as an important record for historians and future generations, and contributes to the growing body of work on Japanese immigrant experiences in Australia. The immigration documented in the book occurred in relatively isolated communities in Northern Australia and few Okinawans from this period remained after the industry declined in the 1960s. As a result, post-war Okinawan pearl divers have largely been relegated to a footnote in Australian immigration history. In defying this trend, *Okinawans Reaching Australia* makes a significant contribution to the field of Japanese-Australian history by preserving the stories of early Okinawan immigrants and bringing an important piece of Australian history to light.

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Faking Liberties: Religious Freedom in American-Occupied Japan



JOLYON BARAKA THOMAS.

University of Chicago Press (Chicago),
2019.

341 pages.

ISBN 9780226618821.

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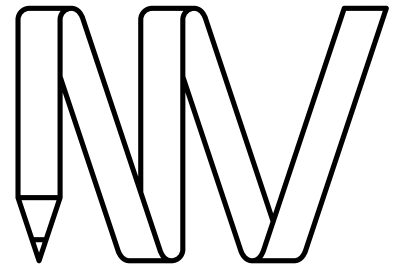
KEYWORDS

history; Occupation; post-war; religious freedom; secularism; Shintō

Jolyon Baraka Thomas's *Faking Liberties: Religious Freedom in American-Occupied Japan* is a thought-provoking case study of the uses and abuses of secularism and religious liberty during the post-war American Occupation of Japan, from 1945 to 1952.¹ He interrogates the Occupation authorities' claims that former Japanese governments had corrupted the separation of religion and the state. Thomas demonstrates that these claims did not represent the realities of the relationship between religion and state in Japan, and shows that the Occupation government used this deliberate misrepresentation as a foil to advance its self-proclaimed position as a religious liberator. Thomas, an assistant professor of Religious Studies at the University of Pennsylvania, traces how this false narrative continues to shape contemporary understandings of religious freedom internationally. The result is an original study of a watershed period in Japanese history.

Faking Liberties is presented in two parts. The first part (chapters 1–4) opens with a critique of the Occupation narrative of 'State Shintō', which contended that modern Japan had no "genuine tradition of religious freedom" (19) because the Japanese state politicised the domestic Shintō religion to enforce social

¹ Thomas notes that the Occupation is officially known as the 'Allied Occupation of Japan' but is more commonly referred to as the American Occupation to reflect the administrative dominance of the US among the Allied powers in this context (xi).



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control and oppress rival faiths. It goes on to expose the divergences between the realities of the state-religion relationship in Japan from the Meiji era until WWII and the Occupation's portrayal of the same period. The second part (chapters 5–8) examines the emergence of the Occupation government's religious freedom narrative and its consequences, which Thomas frames as examples of how the Occupation government used the language of religious freedom to veil agendas that were unrelated to protecting religious observance. Thomas's aim is not to recover the 'real' meaning of religious freedom distorted by these agendas, as evidenced by the fact that he does not define religious freedom in the book. Instead, Thomas focuses on demonstrating the 'inherently coercive nature of religious freedom' (5) in multiple contexts.

Chapter one documents state and clerical support for secularism in Japan before the Occupation, contradicting the Occupation government's later claims (25). Secularist thinking in Japan was formalised by the 1889 Meiji Constitution, which legally separated religion and the state. However, while the constitution legislated religious freedom in the abstract, it did not provide a definition of religion and so failed to specify to whom religious freedom protections should apply. This ambiguity left secular law open to manipulation by those hoping to control religious freedom, who sought to shape the as-yet unconsolidated definition of religion (26–27). For example, nationalist lawyers and intellectuals in Meiji Japan lobbied for shrine obeisance—schoolchildren's compulsory visits to Shintō shrines to bow to the emperor's portrait—to be legally considered a *non-religious* patriotic duty. As a result, shrine obeisance was removed from the purview of legislation protecting religious non-observance, thereby rendering it compulsory (37–45). Contrary to the Occupation view, this change did not occur because by the Shintō establishment dominated the public sphere, but because the 'religion/not-religion' distinction adopted by the Meiji government allowed secular figures to designate certain practices as private and voluntary and others as public and mandatory (37–43). In demonstrating this, Thomas ably problematises the Occupation view of the Japanese government as subordinate to Shintō and questions its underlying claim that secularism is inherently a liberating force.

Thomas further interrogates the State Shintō narrative by examining Buddhist thought on secularism in chapter two, focusing on the True Pure Land sect which is a major denomination of Buddhism in Japan. Though Buddhism was later cast by Occupation authorities and post-war American scholars as the key victim of Japan's supposed Shintō-aligned governance, Thomas argues that Buddhist clerics and intellectuals in fact betrayed no fear of being oppressed by Shintō between the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Conversely, he shows that Buddhist leaders shaped government policy to their advantage during this period by lobbying for legal recognition of their customary privileges (68–73), thereby countering the narrative that Buddhism was disempowered and marginalised by Shintō at the time.

Chapter three examines racial discrimination against Japanese Hawai'ians in the US during interwar period. Anti-immigration lawmakers and journalists in the US succeeded in removing funding for Japanese-language schools in Hawai'i by accusing them of inculcating "emperor-worship" (93–94). Thomas

draws on this example to argue that, in America, secularism was manipulated to position cultural education as religious zealotry and a means of preserving racial ideology. With this observation, he casts doubt over the Occupation's later claim to represent religious tolerance. In chapter four, Thomas addresses allegations put forward by historians aligned with the State Shintō discourse. These historians claimed that Buddhist leaders in early Shōwa Japan (1926–1945) had betrayed religious freedom by failing to protest against the 1939 Religious Organisations Law, which was used by the police to justify persecution of minority religions. To the contrary, Thomas evidences the opposition of Buddhist journalists to the legislation, as well as successful efforts by prominent laypeople to remove some of the law's more draconian components, resulting in legislation which was less severe than originally proposed (122–23).

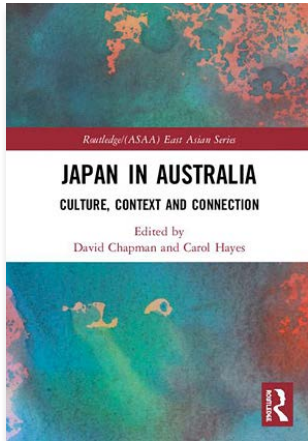
The second half of *Faking Liberties* explores how the Occupation government manufactured a perceived need for religious liberty. Chapter five centres on William K. Bunce, the head of the Occupation's Religions Division. Bunce was charged with developing policy for religious governance and was under pressure to match Occupation reforms with American public expectations, set by wartime propaganda, that the US administration would dismantle a theocracy in Japan (150). To construct one, for none truly existed, Bunce used orientalist scholarship to aggrandise US depictions of Shintō as a primitive faith that had been politicised to foster ethnic nationalism. In the short term this helped to justify nullifying pre-Occupation law and positioned American religion as superior to Japanese (164). But, as discussed in chapter six, the various departments of the Occupation government found that they did not share the same vision of religious freedom, even as they claimed to be promoting it. Education was a marked point of disagreement between administration staff, who sought only to remove religion from public life, and Evangelists, who sought to promulgate Christianity (180–210).

Chapter seven argues that internal disagreements within the Occupation government on religious freedom were steadily compounded by the need to develop a theoretical interpretation of religious freedom that would retrospectively justify the Occupation's early reforms (198). By examining press releases and speeches given by the Occupation government to religious organisations between 1946 and 1947, Thomas identifies the emergence of an unprecedented concept of religious freedom as a human right, with the Occupation government as its source (205). Religious freedom was promoted by Occupation authorities as a neglected universal good which “well[ed] up from within human beings themselves” (206). This in turn positioned the Occupation authorities, who claimed to have laid the groundwork for religious freedom in Japan, as the protectors of an “authentic” and “free” religiosity—characterised as internal and psychologically beneficial—and eradicators of “false” religiosity—characterised as public and materially beneficial, and typified by ‘State Shintō’ (206). Thus, Thomas emphasises that this ostensibly human-rights-based understanding of religious freedom, widely defended even today by international organisations, was first an instrument of military occupation (222).

Also in this chapter, Thomas argues that the concept of religious freedom as a human right, though first discussed within Occupation circles, was ultimately the result of “a robust multilateral interaction in which [Japanese and American] parties learned from each other” (198). However, this interpretation seems at odds with the evidence he provides from post-war constitutional primers written by Japanese intellectuals. Thomas describes one of these publications as “strikingly similar to...Occupation press releases” (208), and states that another claimed, in what surely mirrors the ‘State Shintō’ position, that “the pre-war constitution made Shintō Japan’s national religion” (209). The fidelity of the primers to the Occupation narrative indicates to this reader that, rather than playing a collaborative role, contemporary Japanese intellectuals actively *replicated* American discourse. Further, the analysis leaves unclear exactly how and what Americans may have learned from Japanese thinking on religious freedom, making this argument less convincing than Thomas’ other points and suggesting that future research in this area may be useful. Chapter eight covers the broader, lasting influence of the Occupation by examining how Occupation-period theorisation on Japanese religious freedom has seeded normative presumptions in scholarship about “authentic religion”, and has seen the State Shintō example continue to be cited as a supposed model of “bad religion” (230). Thomas concludes his study by cautioning against any project that uncritically invokes concepts that emerged between 1945 and 1952 under the Occupation government, for the “emancipatory capacity of the religious freedom they imagine is always already compromised” (247).

Faking Liberties is a critical and meticulous history of the use and evolution of discourses on religious freedom during the American Occupation of Japan. Thomas provides welcome rebuttals to the universalist premises of earlier historiography of this period through a careful investigation of religious freedom in Japan from the early Meiji period to 1952. *Faking Liberties* is a valuable contribution to a body of literature concerned with the “politics and ethics of who gets to define” religious freedom (5), and has broad significance for contemporary understandings of modern Japanese history.

Japan in Australia: Culture, Context and Connections



**DAVID CHAPMAN AND
CAROL HAYES (EDS).**

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ISBN 9780367184698.

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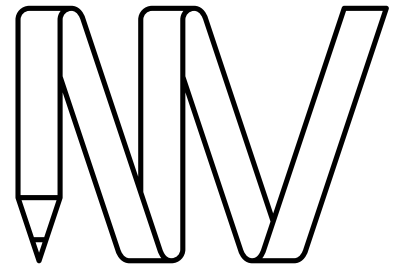
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KEYWORDS

Australia; Australia-Japan relations; cross-cultural representation; Japanese Australian; orientalism; transnationalism

The edited collection *Japan in Australia: Culture, Context and Connections* (2020) brings together twelve substantive essays on the cultural history of the Australia-Japan relationship, with a focus on the way Japan is constructed culturally within the Australian context. Published in Routledge's *Asian Studies Association of Australia (ASAA) East Asia* series, the collection is the result of a conference of the same name held at The University of Queensland in 2016. The conference was one in a series of events marking the fifty-year anniversary of Japanese Studies at the university, a fact which in itself reveals something about the long history of cross-cultural engagement between the two countries. It is dedicated to The Japan Foundation, Sydney which sponsored the 2016 conference and whose funding underpins a significant amount of contemporary Australian research on Japan. It seems appropriate therefore to review the volume in this issue of *New Voices in Japanese Studies*, the journal established by the Foundation's Sydney Office to support the development of emerging scholars in the field.

The contributions to the volume cover a wide range of topics. In their introductory overview, editors David Chapman and Carol Hayes situate the essays in the collection within a broader history of the modern encounter



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New Voices in Japanese Studies,
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between Australia and Japan since the nineteenth century. Essays by Tomoko Aoyama, Lucy Fraser and Laura Emily Clark explore the notion of Australia-Japan through a literary lens. Aoyama documents a 1937 visit to Australia by two prominent post-war intellectuals, the siblings Kazuko and Shunsuke Tsurumi, together with their politician father Yūsuke Tsurumi, and the impact the trip had on both. Fraser examines two contemporary Australian adaptations of Yasunari Kawabata's novella *The House of the Sleeping Beauties*: Venero Armano's novel *Candle Life* and Julia Leigh's film *Sleeping Beauty*. Laura Emily Clark's chapter interrogates the construction of Haruki Murakami in Australian book reviews as both a representative of 'Japanese literature' and an exemplar of 'world literature'. Penny Bailey's chapter on Australian artist Margaret Preston shows how important Japanese woodblock print techniques were to her development of a modern Australian style. Ai Kobayashi and Morris Low both explore sport as an arena of international encounter soon after the end of the Asia-Pacific War. Kobayashi provides a detailed historical account of a 1954 Australian tour by the Yomiuri Giants baseball team, which was intended as a kind of soft-power exercise in diplomacy in a period when Australian attitudes to Japan remained hostile. Low examines Japanese participation in the 1956 Melbourne Olympics, the controversies it generated and the way individual relations between athletes served to stage Japan's readmission to the world community.

Rebecca Hausler's chapter on the transnational production of an English-dubbed version of Japanese television drama *Monkey* was particularly close to my heart. Like the author, I grew up watching the show every day after school in the 1980s. Timothy Kazuo Steains' chapter is a fascinating exploration of the work of Nikkei artist Mayu Kanamori and her interrogation of Japanese-Australian/Australian-Japanese experiences. Koichi Iwabuchi's chapter has a more methodological orientation, proposing the extension of his work on trans-Asian engagement to the study of Australia in Japan. Chihiro Kinoshita Thomson and Ikuo Kawakami bring a focus on language and education to the book, which is particularly relevant given the centrality of language to the teaching of Japanese Studies in Australia. Kinoshita Thomson uses surveys of large Japanese language student cohorts at a Sydney university to argue that students in introductory Japanese courses in Australia are often more concerned with 'consuming' the language learning experience than in gaining the level of mastery of Japanese which would enable them to use it for the more instrumental purposes often envisaged by government funders. Kawakami's chapter makes an argument for a more nuanced understanding of mobility when thinking about young people in Australia who use the Japanese language. She proposes a model of 'Children Crossing Borders' for conceptualising the complex linguistic and physical journeys that growing numbers of young people take between Australia, Japan and often a third or fourth country. Shorter essays by Alan Rix, Roger Pulvers and Vera Mackie provide more personal and impressionistic accounts of Australia-Japan in academia, the arts and the urban landscape respectively.

The book is framed as an exploration of 'Japan in Australia', an approach which attempts to break away from the well-worn scholarly trope of 'the Australia-Japan relationship'. The latter tends to rely upon and to reproduce

ideas of Australia and Japan as well-defined and largely self-contained nation-states rather than as cultural constructs which are mutually constituted through their interaction with one another. The challenge the editors embrace here reflects Tessa Morris Suzuki's (2000, 22) call for an 'anti-Area studies', wherein we treat "people and places in Australia" as part of the research problem, to be "read"—in an interconnected series of points upon the earth, not only reflecting but becoming objects of reflection". The chapters in *Japan in Australia* rise to this challenge with varying degrees of success. Penny Bailey's discussion of the influence of woodblock printing on Margaret Preston is a particularly powerful example of how an 'anti-area' approach can undermine the certainty of nation-state borders. In this chapter we see how an Australia-Japan encounter, mediated in the first instance through the artist's exposure to Japanese prints in Europe, literally shaped the development of what we think of as 'Australian' modern art. Hausler's contribution also introduces other places, namely China and Britain, into the Australia-Japan equation. She argues that it was the encounter between a Chinese story, a Japanese television production, a British dubbing studio and Australian audiences which produced *Monkey Magic* as a cultural phenomenon in Australia in the 1980s and 1990s. Steains' analysis of Mayu Kanamori's plays and performance pieces that deal with mourning and belonging further complicates the idea of the Australia-Japan encounter as being defined by the encounter between nation states. He shows how the artist engages with Australian Indigenous and Japanese-Indigenous histories, interrogating the difficult question of how migrant communities relate to Indigenous Australia within the broader historical legacies of White Australia and colonialism. Kawakami's contribution, too, hammers away at the Japan-Australia binary by thinking about the complexities and subversive potential of children whose young lives involve multiple crossings of the borders of the international nation-state regime.

The sporting chapters are less successful in breaking out of the Australia-Japan relations frame. Perhaps the inherent nationalism of international sporting events makes it difficult for the authors to avoid reproducing a distinct 'Australia' and 'Japan' in their accounts, though Kobayashi does highlight the ethnically diverse makeup of the Japanese baseball team. Having said that, these chapters are perhaps more concerned with another long-standing problem in Japanese Studies in Australia: the role of orientalism in its perceptions of Japan and the Japanese. Sporting history does help us to understand how perceptions of Japan as the enemy were undermined through sport as cultural diplomacy, helping to enable a new post-war relationship with Japan where friendly rivalry could replace military confrontation. Clark's essay on Murakami also interrogates orientalism in Australian readings of Japan. She demonstrates that Australian reviewers tend to position Murakami as a 'Japanese' author, despite the fact that his novels are frequently criticised in Japan for their lack of Japanese-ness, their orientation towards overseas audiences who read them in translation, and their constant references to American pop culture, jazz and classical music. Fraser's piece, too, exposes the sometimes subtle orientalism which remains in contemporary Australian retellings of Kawabata Yasunari's *House of the Sleeping Beauties*.

Taken as a whole, the collection provides a model for how to do Japanese Studies in a globalising world. Those chapters such as Bailey's, Hausler's and Kawakami's, which most successfully undermine methodological nationalism in their approach, go beyond 'Australia-Japan' to track the highly mobile people, images, techniques and things that really open up this problematic. In doing so, they raise a question-mark over the usefulness of 'Australia-Japan' as a framework for understanding the transnational construction of Japan in Australia and Australia in Japan. Nevertheless, as academics whose working lives tend to move back and forth between these two countries, it is probably inevitable that we will continue to wonder what our movements in this space mean for the cultural geography of both.

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